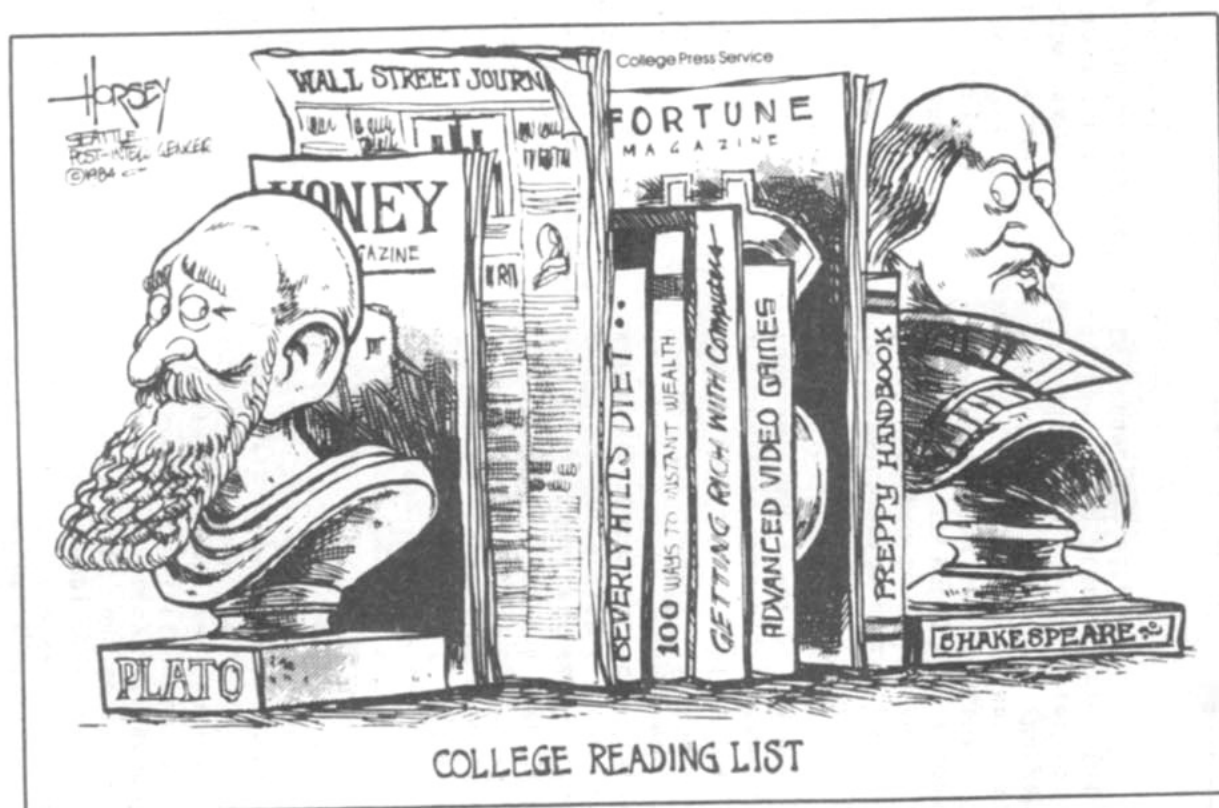


The Progressive Review

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1985



A JUDGE & THE BOMB



THE WEATHER REPORT

Crime and Drugs

Cracking down on drug traffickers may not be the way to stop violent crime. In fact, argues Harvard government professor Mark Moore, tougher enforcement may actually increase crime by driving up the cost of drugs. Moore also says government estimates of crime by heroin users seem to be considerably exaggerated. He says drug addiction does lead to crimes, but they tend to be directed against property, like shoplifting, purse-snatching and car theft. Even conservative economist Milton Friedman agrees. He told the *Wall Street Journal*, "Legalize drugs, and street crime would drop dramatically and immediately."

Porno Law Struck Down

A federal court judge has declared unconstitutional an Indianapolis ordinance that defines pornography as sex discrimination and allows women to seek court bans on the material. City council members who backed the ordinance said they would appeal the decision of US District Judge Sarah Evans Barker, who ruled the proposal violated the right of free speech.

Record-Setting Wage Bias Suit

The California State Employees Association has filed a sex bias suit, charging the state with paying workers in predominately female fields less than workers in comparable jobs held mostly by men.

The CSEA said the suit was the largest suit of its kind to be filed in the US both in terms of the number of workers that may be affected and the amount of money the suit could retrieve in back pay. Association president Leo Mayer said the suit may ultimately involve as many as 100,000 past, present and future workers. Union officials say male employees who work in female-dominated occupations would also benefit, the same as the women, if the association wins its suit.

The CSEA is basing its suit on a 1982 finding by a state personnel office that full-time female workers' wages were 41.2% less than the salaries of male workers. Acting as a consultant on the suit is Winn Newman, the attorney who won Washington state employees' comparable worth suit last year.

The Catch-22 of Women's Sports

You don't read much women's sports because there isn't space or readers aren't interested, say sports editors. But readers don't care about women's sports because they never hear anything about it in the papers, say sports officials.

A recent article in the *San Francisco Examiner* documented the woes of publicizing women's sports. According to the *Examiner*, sports editors from

several major San Francisco Bay area newspapers say they would print more if they got complaints about poor coverage, but also said they wouldn't change their policies much unless the events showed better attendance figures.

John Rawlings of the *San Jose Mercury News* said that when San Jose State University women's sports can draw 12,000 people, as a women's gymnastics event in Los Angeles did, then the paper would cover it.

San Jose State's Mary Zimmerman replied in dismay that "What am I supposed to do to let people know we have a game that night? Get a sound truck and a bull horn and drive around the streets yelling, 'Game tonight at State?'"

The editors interviewed all said they'd like to cover women's sports more—especially "As women's sports get better," said Jay Clapper of the *Hayward Review*—but that it wasn't their job to create interest. Says *San Francisco Chronicle* sports editor Dan McGrath, "In terms of creating interest, the problem is with them. I sympathize with them. It really is a Catch-22."

Women Set Back in Grenada

Women in Grenada are suffering a rollback in their rights these days.

That's according to the *Village Voice*, which recently interviewed Dessina Williams, former Grenadian delegate to the Organization of American States. Williams, who now heads the Grenada Foundation in New York, was arrested by agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in October, on the anniversary of the US invasion of Grenada—she awaits a hearing on charges of being an illegal alien.

The *Village Voice* notes that under the Bishop government, overthrown in a domestic coup before the US invasion, women were guaranteed equal pay and maternity leave. But those benefits—along with other worker rights, low-cost medical care, nutrition programs for children and free education—have all "been undone," says the *Voice*. Thanks in part to the deportation of foreign health care workers, health standards in Grenada have declined. Unemployment, which had dropped to about 12 percent under the deposed Bishop government, has returned to its old level of 60 percent—displaced women workers are reportedly turning to prostitution to make a living.

The *Voice* notes yet one more perhaps symbolic change that has taken place in Grenada under US influence: at least one day-care center is now doing duty as an army post.

Victims of Right on Red

Turning right on a red light may save you some time and the nation a lot of energy, but insurance companies say it's costing them lots of money. Right-

turn accidents have increased 23 percent since 1980. The Insurance Institute for Highway Safety says it's even worse for pedestrians and a complete disaster for bicyclists: cars making right turns are now hitting twice as many bikes.

Lesbian Mayor Elected

The new city of West Hollywood, California has elected Valerie Terrigno, who may be the country's first acknowledged lesbian elected mayor.

Terrigno vows that West Hollywood will not be a "gay city," that she and the homosexual-majority city council will serve all citizen groups equally. Nevertheless, she's proud of her achievement. Terrigno told *USA Today* that "We were illegal not too long ago. We've come a long way in a very short time."

"Domestic Partners" Get Benefits in Berkeley

The new city council in Berkeley, California, has become the first city to provide health insurance and other benefits to "domestic partners" of gay, lesbian, and heterosexual unmarried city employees.

Small Schools Dropping

"It's okay if it's treated like a merger instead of like an absorption," says Greg Maxwell, a Barrington College student who is being transferred with mixed emotions to Gordon College, some 60 miles away in Wenham, Mass.

Barrington had announced it was merging with Gordon to help survive tough times ahead.

It could have been worse. Maxwell himself hopes to scrape up enough credits to graduate in time to avoid the September, 1985 mass transfer. Maxwell's college itself might have died.

For example, some 280 students had to transfer, faculty members had to dig for new jobs and creditors had to be stalled when tiny Nason College went out of business in May, 1983. The 240-acre campus in southern Maine was offered for sale.

The scene is being repeated almost weekly these days.

Colleges are closing or merging with each other at an accelerating rate as signs accumulate that the long-awaited nationwide enrollment decline has begun this fall, and campuses literally begin to run out of students.

In the last year, Michigan, Minnesota, Washington, Missouri and Colorado, among many other states, have adopted plans to merge previously-separate colleges, hoping to save them from extinction.

In just the last two weeks, Barrington and Gordon voted to merge, Washington State proposed merging with Eastern Washington and the trustees of Judson Baptist College in Oregon decided to try to stay open a little while longer.

As many as 200 campuses may disappear before the enrollment drought now beginning ends, some observers predict.

"In the next decade the number of closures and mergers will increase," predicts James Miller of the University of Michigan's Center for the Study of Higher Education. "It's the cumulative effect of enrollment and finance."

Santa Clara Approves Comparable Pay

The Santa Clara County board of supervisors last month adopted "in principle" the concept of equal pay for comparable worth. The California county board will now decide whether the concept will be handled through normal labor negotiations or by a unilateral decree of increases from the board.

Birth Defects Increase

Mother Jones magazine reports that 7 of the 16 major birth defects monitored by the Centers for Disease Control have increased at rates ranging from 20 to 300 percent. Twelve of every 100 babies are born with some sort of defect, says the magazine. Two to three of these are serious and visible; the rest are less apparent.

Author Chris Norwood charges the Centers for Disease Control and the American medical community with a "pervasive lack of interest" in investigating environmental substances suspected of causing birth defects. Such substances are known as teratogens.

Norwood points out that alcohol has been damaging unborn children for centuries but was only recognized as a teratogen ten years ago. And lead, which is found everywhere in industrial societies, was recognized as a danger to unborn children only six months ago.

Nuke Free Zone Overruled

Massachusetts Assistant Attorney General Henry F. O'Connell has overruled as unconstitutional the nuclear free zone by-law adopted last May in Amherst. In a legally-binding opinion, O'Connell claims that "the establishment of a nuclear free zone, if followed by other communities throughout the United States, would constitute the balkanization of the nation, and result in the government losing its control over foreign policy, and would deprive Congress of its war-making power."

Although the opinion is primarily directed at the act's ban on the production of nuclear weapons within the town and its alleged interference with "the power of Congress to provide for the common defense," this "balkanization effect" is also attributed to the act's investment and contracting clauses, which the Attorney General claims present further, alternative grounds for dismissal.

Undeterred by the Attorney General, the town of Amherst has already re-adopted and even expanded its nuclear free zone policies, but this time in the form of resolutions and binding "policies" over which the attorney general has no power. A "Nuclear Free Amherst Resolution" was adopted by the Board of Selectmen that commits the town to a nuclear-free contracting policy "wherever possible." And in October, the Board voted 3 to 2 to endorse a socially responsible investment policy requiring the divestment of all public holdings in corporations involved in either South Africa or in the production of nuclear weapons. The investment policy, the first of any American city to make the link between South Africa and the nuclear arms race, was then overwhelmingly adopted at Amherst's annual fall Town Meeting—by a vote of 129 to 11. —*Nuclear Free America*

The Year for Women

What kind of year was 1984 for the women of the US?

On the down side, says the National Organization for Women's Legal Defense and Education Fund, were such developments as: the US Senate's defeat of the Civil Rights Act of 1984; the Supreme Court's narrow interpretation of Title Nine; the increasing

Contingency Plans for Central America

By Pedro Aviles

Given the urgent situation in Central America, a number of religious and peace organizations have committed themselves to a joint plan of action, in the event of a United States invasion of Nicaragua or El Salvador. According to the plans, if the U.S. invades, North American citizens will travel to the war zone and stand nonviolently with those being attacked while others occupy U.S. federal buildings until the invasion stops. All Members of Congress, the President, the CIA, the Department of State and the Pentagon have already been informed of the plans.

The Plan

More specifically, in the event of an invasion:

1. A signal for nonviolent civil action will be given to regional, state, and local contact people and groups.
2. People all across the country will gather at previously designated churches in local communities. These churches will be the gathering points for receiving and distributing information, for praying and mutual support, and for preparing further action.
3. A nonviolent vigil will be established at the home district office of each U.S. Congressman. Each office will be peacefully occupied until the Congressperson votes to oppose the invasion.

4. Delegations from each area of the country will come to Washington, D.C. to engage in nonviolent civil disobedience at the White House to demand an end to the invasion.

5. United States citizens in Central America (Witness for Peace, Maryknoll) will launch other plans of action in conjunction with those in the U.S. Depending on the political situation, other people will be sent to Nicaragua to join in the actions of U.S. citizens already there.

Local groups will begin now to select churches where people will congregate, gather pledges from people who will act in the event of an invasion, prepare and train volunteers for local action in each congressional district and choose a delegation to go to Washington, D.C. for nonviolent civil disobedience.

National organizations involved in the planning stages include the Presbyterian Church, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, SANE, United Church of Christ, American Baptist Church, Clergy and Laity Concerned, Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Friends Service Committee, the Freeze Campaign, Witness for Peace in Nicaragua and the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, among others.

—SANE World



attacks on abortion clinics; and a jump in the national poverty rate to more than 15 percent, the highest level in 18 years, with women representing more than 57 percent of the country's poor.

The NOW Fund also notes some good things that happened to, or because of, women this year. Advances for women in 1984 included: the formation of the National Black Women's Political Caucus; the first walk in space by a US woman; the admission of women into the Jewish Theological Seminary's Rabbinical school for the first time in the organization's 98-year history; the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's vote against sex-based auto insurance rates; the US Jaycees' decision to admit women members

after a 12-year battle; the election of a woman as the governor of Vermont, and the naming of Geraldine Ferraro as the Democratic nominee for vice-president.

VDT Campaign Begun

Nine to Five, the national association of working women, and the Service Employees International Union have announced an 18-state safety campaign to warn people of the potential hazards of regular work with video display terminals. The groups note that 10 million workers—mainly underpaid women—use VDTs as a daily part of their work, and that the number may reach 40 million by 1990.

LABOR BACKS MONDALE

A poll conducted by Peter Hart Associates found that members of the AFL-CIO backed Walter Mondale over Ronald Reagan by 61% to 39%—higher than the exit poll reports listing union support of Mondale at only 55%. Ben Albert, a representative of the federation's Committee on Political Education, said the results indicate that "we can reach our members; we can persuade them; they do listen." On the other hand, 40% of the self-identified Democrats in the sample told the pollsters that they agreed with the statement, "I used to support the Democratic Party a lot more than I do now."

FREEZE CONVENTION

More than 700 delegates attended the fifth annual conference of the Nuclear Freeze Campaign last month in St. (Please turn to page 20)

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THE JUDGE & THE BOMB

The following is a statement by US District Judge Miles Lord at his sentencing of two persons convicted of destroying war-related computer equipment at a Sperry plant in Minnesota. Reprinted from the Northern Sun News:

It is the allegation of these young people that they committed the acts here complained of as a desperate plea to the American people and its government to stop the military madness which they sincerely believe will destroy us all, friend and enemy alike.

As I ponder over the punishment to be meted out to these two people who were attempting to unbuild weapons of mass destruction, we must ask ourselves: Can it be that those of us who build weapons to kill are engaged in a more sanctified endeavor than those who would by their acts attempt to counsel moderation and mediation as an alternative method of settling international disputes? Why are we so fascinated by a power so great that we cannot comprehend its magnitude? What is so sacred about a bomb, so romantic about a missile? Why do we condemn and hang individual killers while extolling the virtues of warmongers? What is that fatal fascination which attracts us to the thought of mass destruction of our brethren in another country? How can we even entertain the thought that all people on one side of an imaginary line must die and, if we be so ungodly cynical as to countenance that thought, have we given thought to the fact that in executing that decree we will also die? Who draws these lines and who has so decreed?

How many people in this democracy have seriously contemplated the futility of committing national suicide in order to punish our adversaries? Have we so little faith in our system of free enterprise, our capitalism and the fundamental concepts that are taught us in our constitutions and in our several bibles that we must, in order to protect ourselves from the spread of foreign ideologies, be prepared to die at our own hands? Such thinking indicates a great deal of lack of faith in our democracy, our body politic, our people, and our institutions.

There are those in high places that believe Armageddon is soon to be upon us, that Christ will soon come to earth and take us all back with him to heaven. It would appear that much of our national effort is being devoted to helping with the process. It may even be a celebration of sorts. When the bombs go off, Christ won't have to come to earth—we will all, believers and nonbelievers alike, meet him halfway.

The anomaly of this situation is that I am here called upon to punish two individuals who were charged with having caused damage to the property of a corporation in the amount of \$33,000. It is this self-same corporation which only a few months ago was before me accused of having wrongfully embezzled from the U.S. government the sum of \$3.6 million. The employees of this company succeeded in boosting the corporate profits by wrongfully and feloniously juggling the books. Since these individuals were all employees of the corporation, it appears that it did not occur to anyone in the office of the Attorney General of the United States that the actions of these men constituted a criminal conspiracy for which they might be punished. The government demanded only that Sperry pay back a mere 10 percent of the amount by which the corporation had been unlawfully enriched. Could it be that these corporate men who were working to build weapons of mass destruction received special treatment because of the nature of their work?

I am now called upon to determine the amount of

restitution that is to be required of the two individuals who have done damage to the property of Sperry. The financial information obtained by the probation officers indicates that neither of the defendants owes any money to anyone. While Ms. Katt has no assets, Mr. LaForge is comparatively well endowed. He owns a 1968 Volkswagen, a guitar, a sleeping bag and \$200 in cash.

The inexorable pressure which generates from those who are engaged in making a living and a profit from building military equipment and the pork barreling that goes on in the halls of Congress to obtain more such contracts for the individual state will in the ultimate consume itself in an atomic holocaust. These same factors exert a powerful pressure upon a judge in my position to go along with the theory that there is something sacred about a bomb and that those who raise their voices or their hands against it should be struck down as enemies of the people, no matter that in their hearts they feel and know that they are friends of the people.

Now conduct of this sort cannot be condoned under the guise of free speech. Neither should it be totally condemned as being subversive, traitorous or treasonous in the category of espionage or some other bad things. I would here in this instance take the sting out of the bomb, attempt in some way to force the government to remove the halo with which it seems to embrace any device which can kill and to place instead thereon a shroud, the shroud of death, destruction, mutilation, disease and debilitation.

If there is an adverse reaction to this sentence, I will anxiously await the protestations of those who complain of my attempts to correct the imbalance that now exists in a system that operates in such a manner as to provide one type of justice for the rich and a lesser type for the poor. One standard for the mighty and another for the weak. And a system which finds its humanness and objectivity is sublimated to military madness and the worship of the bomb.

A judge sitting here as I do is not called upon to do that which is politically expedient or popular but is called upon to exercise his calm and deliberate judgment in a manner best suited to accomplish and accommodate and vindicate the rights of the people acting through its government and the rights of those people who are the subject matter of such actions. The most popular thing to do at this particular time would be to sentence them to a ten year period of imprisonment, and some judges might be disposed to do just that.

[Thereupon, sentence was imposed: Six months in prison, was suspended, six months on probation]

I am also aware of the thrust of the argument which would say this would encourage others to do likewise.

If others do likewise, they must be dealt with at that time.

I am also impressed with the argument that this might in some way constitute a disparity of sentence, that you individuals have not been properly punished for your offense because some others might not be deterred from doing that.

I really wonder about the constitutionality of sentencing one person for a crime that may be committed by another person at another time and place.

It is also difficult for me to equate the sentence I here give you—for destroying \$36,000 worth of property, because you have been charged—with those who stole \$3,600,000 worth of property and were not charged, demoted or in any way punished.

My conscience is clear.

We will adjourn the Court.

SOVIET AID TO NICARAGUA: LESS THAN MEETS THE EYE

Michael Klare

Michael Klare is an expert on military policy and author, most recently, of "The American Arms Supermarket."

Although that Soviet freighter did not unload MiG-21 jet fighters in Nicaragua, the Reagan administration has stepped up its charges that Moscow is providing the Nicaraguans with large quantities of advanced military equipment.

Yet even a casual look at Soviet arms transfers reveals that Nicaragua receives only the barest fraction of the USSR's total arms exports—and not the best at that. Indeed, India, Jordan, Nigeria, Peru and North Yemen, all generally aligned with the west on international affairs, apparently receive more Soviet arms than Nicaragua.

Administration officials have made their position clear. "The fact is," Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger claimed on Nov. 11, "that the Soviets are supplying a great deal of heavy offensive arms to Nicaragua."

Pentagon officials have further charged that Moscow sees Nicaragua as a "platform" for attacks on other Central American countries. For example, Gen. Paul F. Gorman, chief of the U.S. Southern Command, testified recently that Soviet arms shipments are intended to provide Nicaragua with "an unmatched offensive capability in the region."

These charges have sparked considerable debate among the experts. For some, Nicaragua's tanks—an estimated 60-100 Soviet medium tanks, more than any other country in the region—gives it a decisive edge. Others point to Nicaragua's disadvantage in air

power—Honduras has some 30 combat jets, while Nicaragua has none, and El Salvador, with 17 U.S.-supplied A-37 jets and a large helicopter fleet, is also thought to enjoy an advantage.

These comparisons, widely discussed in the U.S. press, have blunted some of the anxiety aroused by administration claims of Nicaraguan strength. Although the relative importance of these factors is open to dispute, it should be clear that none of these countries enjoys a superiority sufficient to allow it to invade one of the others with a sure expectation of success.

If the Nicaraguans have no particular edge, then, what of the charge that the Soviets are trying to convert them into a major regional power? While it is impossible to know what Soviet leaders say in private about Central America, one can get some idea of

What are the facts?

1. MiGs would not be able to reach the U.S. from Nicaragua.
2. MiGs would not be effective against terrorist forces such as the contras, since the aircraft cannot fly low enough to accurately hit jungle targets.
3. MiGs would mainly be effective against enemy aircraft in the region.
4. Currently Nicaragua has one-half the air power of Honduras and one-fifth the air power of El Salvador, both backed by the U.S. —SANE World

their outlook by comparing the Soviet arms program in Nicaragua with its programs in other countries.

Along with the United States and France, the USSR is a leading arms supplier to third world countries. According to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, the Soviets delivered \$44.5 billion worth of arms to the developing countries between 1978 and 1982, or 37 percent of all such arms transfers. This included tanks, armored troop carriers, helicopters and combat aircraft delivered to some 50 countries, mostly in Africa and the Middle East.

In that same period—the last for which ACDA has accurate statistics—Nicaragua received \$70 million worth of Soviet arms, less than two-thousandths of all Soviet arms transfers in the third world.

Pentagon officials say more recent deliveries would bring the total shipped to Nicaragua up to some \$250-\$300 million, but even this would leave Nicaragua behind 16 or so other Third World nations, including Peru and Cuba, in this hemisphere. In some cases, the gap is truly immense. Syria received \$8.2 billion in Soviet arms from 1978-82, 117 times the Nicaraguan total, while Libya received \$6 billion worth or 86 times the Nicaraguan amount.

Nicaragua has also been excluded from that select group of countries supplied with the most advanced equipment. These favored clients regularly receive more advanced MiG jets, main battle tanks, and surface-to-air missiles—but not the Nicaraguans. According to the London-based International Institute

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CHOPPING THE BILL OF RIGHTS

Diane R. Gordon

Diane Gordon was president of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency from 1982 to 1983 and teaches political science and criminology at City College of New York.

The Comprehensive Crime Control Act of 1984 is not likely to live up to its name. Instead the new Act delivers a karate chop to the Bill of Rights.

Congress has been struggling with the vast, untidy Federal Criminal Code for more than 15 years, throwing out bill after bill of proposed reforms. Finally, this fall an anti-crime package slid through, tacked on to a spending resolution, in the last week of the session.

Despite strong Reagan Administration backing, the new law was not a solely Republican achievement—75 Democrats, including northern liberals, joined the House majority, and the only Senator to oppose it, Charles Mathias of MD, is in fact a Republican.

But politicians of both parties may soon regret participating in the election year "tougher-than-thou" contest. Although the law probably won't significantly reduce the crimes most Americans worry about, it will be expensive and it expands federal law enforcement in ways that threaten individual liberties.

Among other hard-line provisions, the bill

- Creates a number of new federal offenses and mandates longer prison terms for many offenses.
- Abolishes parole for federal crimes after 1989, and creates a commission to develop guidelines for sentencing—and virtually instructs the commission to lengthen sentences, referring, for example, to the "inappropriateness" of imprisoning offenders for rehabilitation.

- Reverts to the 19th century view of insanity as

a criminal defense, defining it as a disease or defect which renders a person "unable to appreciate the nature and quality of the wrongfulness of his acts."

- Endorses "preventive detention," or confining a defendant before trial.

Although this law concerns only federal crimes, it will also have an effect on state and local jurisdictions where most criminal justice policy is made. For example, the relatively broad preventive detention provisions mean that state legislatures may relax due process protections for defendants. Federal movement toward fixed sentences will surely accelerate a similar trend at state levels.

And in adding special penalties for certain crimes, the law injects federal prosecution into local law enforcement.

The act's centerpiece is "bail reform." The new law stiffens penalties for jumping bail and for crimes committed while on bail, and permits detaining some defendants—certain repeat offenders or those charged with federal drug crimes—if the judge deems they "pose a danger to any other person or the community."

In fact, the judge may lay aside the presumption of innocence and deny bail on a presumption of dangerousness. A similar provision allows the detention of convicted persons awaiting sentence or appeal.

The preventive detention provisions along will add substantially to criminal justice costs. In the first month after the law went into effect the federal prison population grew by 400 inmates—over one percent—as a result of increased detention, and federal officials acknowledge the new law means

they will need funds to build more prisons and to pay for detention hearings.

These provisions may also be unconstitutional, since they do not specify the type of conduct which constitutes "dangerousness." David Landau, legislative counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, says the presumption of dangerousness "runs smack into the Eighth Amendment [prohibiting excessive bail] and the Fifth Amendment [requiring due process]."

Finally, civil libertarians fear a side-effect of the new law will be an increase in the use of the criminal justice system to control political activities. Already, a case has arisen in which the defendants' politics undoubtedly contributed to the federal government's request for denial of bail. Six days after the new bill was signed, a Federal prosecutor asked a Manhattan magistrate to detain members of the New Afrikan Freedom Fighters charged with conspiring to commit robbery. The prosecutor charged that the defendants are members of a "highly organized terrorist group" and are "extremely dangerous to the community."

The magistrate ultimately refused to deny bail, noting that none of the accused had criminal records. But they were in custody for more than two weeks while the detention hearing took place.

Some would argue that these potential incursions on civil liberties are justifiable because the new law will significantly reduce crime. But that is highly unlikely. Only a small percentage of serious criminal cases come to federal courts, and very few involve muggers or murderers likely to commit new crimes while on bail.

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RAY BONNER GOES BACK

The reporter the New York Times recalled returns to Central America

An interview by Bill Hinchberger

Bill Hinchberger is a San Francisco-based freelancer who has reported from Central America for several publications. Beth Sanders contributed research for this article.

SAN FRANCISCO, CA—A pall was cast over the press corps in El Salvador in August 1982 as news spread that the *New York Times* was recalling its correspondent. The reporter, Ray Bonner, had earned a reputation as one of the hardest working and most diligent reporters on the beat.

A former lawyer in his late 30s with little journalism experience, Bonner scoured the countryside for the story the U.S. Embassy was not telling. He was one of the first reporters to go behind guerilla lines, but the Embassy was angered more by his dispatches detailing the problems with the U.S.-encouraged land reform program and atrocities committed by the U.S.-supported military.

Bonner's work was repeatedly denounced by government officials and American conservatives. He and a colleague, Washington, D.C., freelancer John Dinges, so raised the ire of Col. John Waghelstein, the senior U.S. military advisor in El Salvador, that the officer remarked to another reporter, "I'd like to get Dinges and Bonner up in a plane."

Bonner, who began his stint with the *Times* as a stringer in December 1980 and was hired permanently shortly thereafter, maintains that it was not pressure from the government or conservative public opinion that prompted his recall, as some allege. "It was very complex," he explained during a recent visit to the West Coast. "There were a lot of reasons. I hadn't been around long enough. I hadn't paid my dues. I wasn't known [to the editors] in New York. Here's this reporter down there causing all kinds of controversy and [making] the paper the subject of all this criticism and attacks. I don't think they liked that."

The fallout from Bonner's recall led to more cautious reporting from El Salvador. Many journalists viewed the move as politically motivated, and they resolved to avoid the same fate. Michael Massing wrote in the *Columbia Journalism Review* (Nov./Dec. 1983) that the reaction represented an "about-face" in press coverage. "In a word, the news media have gone soft," he charged.

Bonner himself stayed tenaciously on the story. Taking a leave of absence from his state-side assignment with the *Times*, he produced a book analyzing U.S. policy in El Salvador, using documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act and leaks as well as interviews with top American and Salvadoran officials.

The title of his book, *Weakness and Deceit*, reflects one of the journalist's foremost criticisms of U.S. policy in Central America. "In one sense we're already in another Vietnam, and that is the refusal of the administration in Washington to level with the American people about what's happening," Bonner, himself a veteran of the Southeast Asian war, remarked. "The deceit. The dishonesty. That's exactly like Vietnam. It's this arrogant attitude in Washington that the American people can't be trusted with the facts and the reality of the situation."

Bonner, who left his position with the *Times* in July, returned recently to visit El Salvador and Nicaragua for the first time since his recall. We discussed his impressions:

Q. What can you report about your recent trip to Nicaragua? What did you find there?

The economy is really hurting. Really screaming. I think it's important to remember when thinking

about what's going on in Nicaragua that when Nixon and Kissinger went after Allende in Chile in '73 that Nixon gave the order to "make it scream"—referring to the Chilean economy. And I think that's the same thing the administration is doing now to the Nicaraguan economy.

There are shortages. You can't get soap, toilet paper, toothpaste. If they are in supply, the lines are long. This is creating a great deal of dissatisfaction, and the dissatisfaction is aimed at the Sandinistas—which is of course exactly what the administration wants.

In addition to the military war, in addition to the *contra* war, there's the economic war. The administration has leaned on the [International Monetary Fund] not to make loans to Nicaragua, leaned on the Inter-American Development Bank not to make loans to Nicaragua, leaned on the World Bank not to make loans to Nicaragua. And this is having a tremendous effect.

In addition, there have been the *contra* attacks. It's interesting, the administration has been so quick to criticize the Salvadoran guerillas for attacking the economy, but that's precisely what the *contras* are doing. There've been attacks on food cooperatives, attacks on bridges, attacks designed to make the economy scream and to increase dissatisfaction with the Sandinistas.

Do you care to comment on Vice President George Bush's characterization of Nicaragua and El Salvador as being like day and night in terms of their human rights situations?

And President Reagan calling Nicaragua a totalitarian dungeon, and recently the United States Ambassador to Costa Rica saying that Nicaragua is like an infected piece of meat crawling with insects.

Compare it to El Salvador. There is more political freedom, more religious freedom, more press freedom and a better life for peasants in Nicaragua than there is in El Salvador. That sounds like a pretty bold statement, but you can demonstrate it.

Take religious freedom. In Nicaragua the Sandinistas are fighting with Oblando y Bravo, the archbishop who is critical of the Sandinistas, and the Sandinistas have expelled ten priests. In El Salvador, they killed the archbishop, [Oscar] Romero, who was a critic of the government, and they've killed more than ten priests in addition to the rape-murders of the four Americans.

Take political freedom. There's no complete political freedom in Nicaragua as we know it in the United States, but there's more political freedom than there is in El Salvador. Arturo Cruz, the anti-Sandinista opposition leader, has returned to Nicaragua and held mass rallies. He couldn't do that in El Salvador. Leftist political leaders have been killed. They dragged six leaders of the FDR, the political wing of the revolution, out of the Catholic high school in November 1980. Tortured them and killed them. They killed more in October of 1982. The U.S. Embassy knew it wouldn't be safe for Guillermo Ungo or any of the other opposition political leaders to enter the country and campaign. They said that they should campaign from outside the country with videotapes.

Look at the State Department's own report on Human Rights for 1983. According to the *State Department*, the Sandinistas in 1983 killed 12 civilians. According to the same report the Salvadoran government was responsible for the deaths of 140 civilians—per month. So the Salvadoran government was killing civilians at 140 times that of the Nicaraguan government.

If Nicaragua is a totalitarian dungeon, what does that make El Salvador?

How do you read the meetings of Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte with the guerillas and the U.S. government response to it?

Everybody's been reporting that this meeting is a vindication of the Reagan administration policy of adopting a military approach that has forced the guerillas to the bargaining table. Where is our memory? The fact is that the guerillas have been offering to negotiate since 1981. They've made at least six offers to negotiate without preconditions.

You could say, "The guerillas weren't serious." But nobody tested them.

Another thing that's been overlooked. Duarte did not tell the Reagan administration that he was going to make this offer. I believe that he didn't. When he went back to El Salvador [after announcing the offer to negotiate, at the United Nations], he was asked, "Why didn't you tell the administration?"

And he said, "Because I didn't want the negotiations derailed." And that was Duarte's word. He didn't want them "derailed." He knew who was op-

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WINNING THE SOUTH BY DIVIDE & CONQUER

Bernard Demczuk

In covering the 1984 presidential election, political analysts have consistently missed the two most important reasons for Ronald Reagan's popularity in the South: anti-communism and racism. For Republicans, these two issues served as effective thematic tactics in an overall simplistic, yet insightful, political strategy of divide and conquer. What is tragic about this age-old strategy is that the South will suffer long term injustices while it achieved short term victories on November 6.

This is not to say that the so-called "economic recovery" was not an important reason for Reagan's popularity in the South, but that culture, *today*, has as much if not more, political benefits as does economics. In other words, invading and conquering Grenada, a leftist and black country, in a cultural climate where football, stock car racing and T.V. beer commercials are dominant in everyone's thinking, has more symbolic and political impact than does a recovery that has not yet been felt in most southern states.

The Impact of Southern Culture

It was said of this year's presidential election that the road to the White House travels through the

South. Whoever won the South, won the White House. Why was this maxim true? It was true because of the immense cultural significance the South has on American politics. The South proudly called the shots not because it provided an abundance of electoral votes, but because it provided forceful political repercussions for the rest of the country.

American nationalism has been sweeping the country for years. This trend benefited Ronald Reagan's re-election more than his "economic recovery." The South, more than any other region in America, save the San Diego area, has led the way for American nationalism, springing out of anti-communism and racism.

The recent surge of American nationalism essentially began on April 30, 1975 with the fall of Saigon and the defeat of U.S. troops in Vietnam. For our society, which has always prided itself with being Number One, our collective humiliation in Vietnam could not last long. As the most active sports culture in the world, we knew there would always be another game on the schedule, another opportunity to redeem ourselves.

From 1975 through 1979 we continued, as a nation, to get sand kicked in our face both domestically and abroad. Then came Iran, with its revolution, its

anti-Americanism, its insults toward us, its taking of our people as hostages.

For 444 long days and nights, we sat in front of the T.V. powerless and incapable of doing what we Americans do best—take control of the situation. As the days lingered painfully on, our collective will grew all the more angry, determined never to let this happen to us again.

But more than anywhere else in the United States, it was in the South where this reaction against not winning and not being Number One was most intensely felt. In the South, three cultural phenomena that aggressively promote winning and being Number One were in full swing long before Reagan's election in 1980: sports, particularly football and stock car racing; military life; and fundamental Baptist religion, especially the Moral Majority. These three cultures fueled the intensity of the reaction against losing in Vietnam and being attacked and insulted

Bernard Demczuk, a former professional football player, union and civil rights activist, is a national political organizer for the American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO. He recently worked throughout the South for 18 months on behalf of his union and the Democratic ticket.

THE BEST OF CONGRESS

The Senate

Here are the top-ranked senators based on ADA's 1984 voting record. There were 24 senators with a voting record of 80% or better this year compared with 20 last year. Those dropped from top-ranked position were Gary Hart (largely because of absences — he got 100% for all the votes he took part in); Tsongas and Specter (the lone Republican last year who got 80% in 1983 and 50% this year.) Those added to the list this year are shown in bold-face.

100% RATING

Dodd, Sarbanes, Levin, Riegle, Lautenberg, Burdick, Metzenbaum, Pell, Bingaman

95% RATING

Cranston, Leahy

90% RATING

Weicker, Matsunaga, Mitchell, Eagleton, Melcher, Sasser

85% RATING

Biden, Inouye, Kennedy, Bradley, Moynihan,

80% RATING

Ford, Cohen

At the opposite end, here's a list of the worst senators based on the ADA voting record. All these senators scored 20% or lower:

Denton, Heflin, Murkowski, Stevens, Goldwater, Wilson, Armstrong, Roth, Mattingly, McClure, Symms, Lugar, Quayle, Grassley, Jepsen, Dole, Cochran, Zorinsky, Hecht, Laxalt, Humphrey, East, Helms, Nickles, Thurmond, Abner, Baker, Tower, Garn, Hatch, Trible, Warner, Kasten, Simpson, Wallop.

The House

There were 37 fewer House members scoring 80% or better in the ADA tally this year. Ten scored 100%, that's up two from last year but four fewer than in 1982. Here are the top-ranked House members:

G Miller (CA), Dellums (CA), D Edwards (CA), Waxman (CA), Roybal (CA), Hayes (ILL), Wheat (MO), Addabbo (NY), Weiss (NY), Weaver (OR)

Here by state are the House members ranking 80% or higher:

ARIZONA: Udall

CALIFORNIA: Bosco, Matsui, Burton, Boxer, Miller, Dellums, Stark, Edwards, Lantos, Mineta, Coelho, Lehman, Beilenson, Waxman, Roybal, Berman, Levine, Dixon, Martinez, Dymally, Anderson, Torres, G Brown, Bates

COLORADO: Schroeder, Wirth, Kogovsek

CONNECTICUT: Kennelly, Gejdenson, B. Morrison, Ratchford

FLORIDA: L Smith, Lehman

HAWAII: Akaka

ILLINOIS: Hayes, Savage, Russo, Collins, Yates, L Evans

INDIANA: K Hall, Jacobs

MARYLAND: Mikulski, Mitchell, Barnes

MASSACHUSETTS: Frank, Shannon, Markey, Moakley, Studds, Donnelly

MICHIGAN: Conyers, Wolpe, Carr, Kildee, Crockett, W. Ford, Levin

MINNESOTA: Vento, Sabo, Sikorski, Oberstar

MISSOURI: Clay, Wheat

MONTANA: P Williams

NEW JERSEY: Florio, Howard, Rodino

NEW MEXICO: Richardson

NEW YORK: Downey, Mrazek, Addabbo, Ackerman, Scheuer, Schumer, Towns, Owens, Solarz, Rangel, Weiss, Garcia, Biaggi, Ottinger, LaFalce, Nowak

OHIO: Pease, Seiberling, Feighan, Oaker, Stokes

OKLAHOMA: Synar

OREGON: AuCoin, Wyden, Weaver

PENNSYLVANIA: Foglietta, Gray, Edgar, Kostmayer, Coyne, Walgren

RHODE ISLAND: Schneider

TENNESSEE: Cooper, H Ford

TEXAS: Leland, Gonzalez

WASHINGTON: Swift, Foley, M Lowry

WISCONSIN: Kastenmeier, Moody, Obey

in Iran—and promoted a vicious American nationalism in the form of violent anti-communism and racism. The murders of five activist union leaders in Greensboro, N.C., members of the Communist Workers Party, by the Klu Klux Klan in November 1979 was the most dramatic event symbolizing the dangerous consequences of anti-communism and racism.

America's largest military bases are located throughout the South; football and stock car racing are so popular that the top performers are considered national heroes; and Moral Majority preachers are household words. The rhetoric and reality of these cultures promote toughness, strength, fearlessness, machoism and being Number One, regardless of the consequences. They promote a jingoism that justifies invading countries in the Caribbean or murdering communists in the streets of North Carolina. They are cultures of violence. Members of the Moral Majority advocate America "raising up a tyrant" that will promote stern "Christian values," including "exterminating homosexuals and communists."

Ronald Reagan, the tough leader, the strong anti-communist, the macho word-chopping, horse-riding, bullet-in-the-chest president has been on this wave of American nationalism for more than four years, promoting insidious forms of dangerous politics and divisive social forces.

Dividing and Conquering the South

In Dixie, there is a genuine belief that the South is rising again and that "America is Back." The question is, however, rising to what and going back to where? During the Civil War, the Union forces used the divide and conquer military strategy to defeat the Confederacy. Today, Reagan and the Republicans are using the divide and conquer political strategy to defeat the Democrats, particularly in the South. The consequences for the South and the rest of the na-

tion, however, are something Republicans should not be proud of.

I spent over a year in the South working toward election day in the interest of my union and the democratic ticket. From San Antonio, Texas, to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and everywhere in between this beautiful land called Dixie, I spoke to, organized and lived with its people. I ended the last two weeks of my southern tour in North Carolina working to defeat the divide and conquer master tactician, Senator Jesse Helms.

Wherever I went to organize, I conducted street surveys in local communities. Most of what I had seen and learned in the past year can be summed up in the interviews I conducted in Georgia.

This October, in a small shopping center outside of Lovejoy, Georgia, I was surveying people entering a drug store. Taking off my partisan buttons, I asked voters who they were voting for and why. The responses were contradictory and illogical, yet reasonable and predictable.

An old black couple, the man wearing soiled overalls and the woman a 1950's dress, appearing poor and humble, said they were voting for Ronald Reagan because he supports school prayer. Another farming couple, white, also seemingly poor and nearly illiterate with blackened and missing front teeth, said they were voting for Ronald Reagan because he was against abortion. Next a young man, about 25, good looking and strong, said he would vote for Reagan because he will stop the communists and Castro. A middle aged man, about 45, a blue collar worker, said Ronald Reagan because if Mondale gets elected, he will let that "nigger Jesse Jackson run America."

Here we have, in these responses, the evidence of a successful divide and conquer strategy. How can the introduction of school prayer in central Georgia help poor farmers being devastated by drought, a

25% income reduction and possible foreclosure? How will convincing young men that stopping the Sandinistas at the Macon County Line provide meaningful education and work for them? How will inflaming racial hatred against Jesse Jackson and inciting voters against Walter Mondale because he and Jesse work together, help a white unemployed iron-welder find a job?

The answer is, of course, it won't. But it helped Reagan get re-elected because people who would normally vote for Mondale on issues and programs voted for Reagan in the name of anti-communism and racism.

Racism Rising, Not the South

On October 28, Michael Barone wrote an article in the *Washington Post*, "A Party without a Solid Base," in which he stated: "Race is no longer the issue that keeps white southerners voting Republican in presidential contests. Economics does: southern whites are increasingly affluent, upwardly mobile..." Nothing could be further from the truth.

Most whites in the South are not affluent. They are just getting by and still reeling from the recession of 1981-1982. In addition, they are anxious about what the future holds because their experience is one of boom and bust economic cycles. Furthermore, white southern political bosses—conservative Democrats, that is,—see the increased numbers of black voter registration as a threat to their economic and political power bases.

Consequently, what you have is white conservative political leaders using racism in a time of economic instability to turn white against black in order to save the hides of conservative political leaders. The rhetoric sounds like this: "Blacks are taking white workers' jobs because of affirmative action." The

(Please turn to page 21)

EUGENE MCCARTHY

Trashing the Post

When I moved to Rappahannock County, escaping the marginal reach of The Washington Post was not a primary objective, although I thought it a fringe benefit. I knew that the Post offered a "Weekly" version designed, it said, for decision makers. The subscription rate was, however, \$300 a year.

At that price I knew that I would not be tempted to subscribe. I had noted as I was looking to buy a house in the county, an occasional Washington Post open-end newspaper box standing beside the U.S. Mail boxes along Rts. 211, 522, and 231. However, I was reassured to note that the boxes were always empty, evidence I thought, that a distribution program had failed, and there were no such boxes on my road, Rt. 618.

Soon after I moved into my house on that road, the Post found me out, and informed me that I could subscribe to the daily Washington Post, and have it delivered through the U.S. Mail, by 10 a.m. I yielded. All went well enough for a while. The problem of getting rid of the old papers was not serious, as long as there was one dumpster next to the H & J store on Rt. 231, and even subsequently when that convenience was discontinued and I had to deliver my used Posts to the dumpster park near Amissville. But when the dumpsters were moved down Rt. 522, about halfway to Culpeper, I realized that about two-thirds of my trash and garbage by volume was made up of The Washington Post, and that by discontinuing my subscription I could reduce my trips to the dumpster by two-thirds. I did.

THIS ACT did not leave me entirely free of the Post, but it put the relationship on my terms. I might

occasionally buy a weekday issue at Burke's store, and regularly did go to Harvey's store on Sunday to get the Sunday Post. I never went so far as to ask Harvey to reserve a copy for me, but took a chance that there might be an extra copy left when I got to the store.

In any case, my real purpose for this Sunday trip was not to get the paper but to meet the Sunday morning crowd, usually the game warden—ready to give a report on turkeys, deer, bear, fish or rabid raccoons—two or three colonels, prepared with war stories, and Harvey with a report on how the horses had run at Charles Town on Saturday night.

And so I thought I had established my relationship with The Washington Post. And then, recently, the truce was broken. The Post was making me a new offer, namely to become a "charter" subscriber to a new "National Weekly Edition of The Washington Post," not just an ordinary subscriber, I was reminded, but a "charter" subscriber, and for only \$34 a year. In one stroke the Post had destroyed my two defensive positions against subscribing to the Post, the high cost of the weekly edition and the burden of getting rid of left-over papers.

THE LETTERS of introduction promised that the new publication would improve my insight and also give me insights, assorted ones, from other persons, including David Broder. I was not particularly moved by this argument, since I now have more insights than I know what to do with, and than I can get published.

Then the sponsors of the new publication told me that the new Weekly would inform me as to what

went on behind closed doors in Washington, in the corridors of Congress, at Washington cocktail parties, and at Embassy receptions. I have been in all of these places, and know that not much does go on in them.

In a slightly negative mood, I read on to find that the new publication would uncover options and report them to me. I have been offering options to the Post for years, only to find them generally ignored.

I WAS about to give up on the whole thing, when I noted a second supporting letter, this one from the new editor, saying not that the Weekly would give me insights, and enlighten me, but that it would "incite" me. He did not say what I would be incited to do or when it would take place. I have written to him suggesting that inciting persons is dangerous, and that possibly he could give his readers a warning, not unlike that which is placed on cigarette packages by the Surgeon General—just a note saying, "The editor believes that there is material in this article that may (or will) incite you." I indicated that if he did so I might become a charter subscriber.

But after making that limited commitment, I read on to learn that the Weekly will also undertake to "assuage" my frustrations. I live more or less by my frustrations, and fear that the double pressure of the Weekly trying to assuage my frustrations, and at the same time as Walter Mondale, according to his press secretary, Maxine Isaacs, was going to be elucidating me, might be too much.

I think I will limit my exposure to the Post to the occasional daily copy I pick up at Burke's, and to the Sunday copy from H & J's.



MELVIN

Reflections of a Prison Reform Worker on the Murder of a Relative

L. C. Dorsey

On December 5, 1984, Melvin died on an operating table in a Dallas (Tx.) hospital from a shotgun blast to the stomach. He had argued with Anderson Price, a 67 year old man, who grabbed his shot gun. Reports from the Crimes Against Persons Division of the Dallas Police Department say Melvin struggled with Price for the gun, and was shot during the struggle. Because of the on going investigation, no additional information was available. Oh, yes, the body was at the city morgue and could be claimed by the next of kin.

Melvin Louis Braison was born June 20, 1948, to Mr. and Mrs. Leroy Braison. He was the youngest of three brothers born to the union. He was Black, male, poorly educated, and was employed at the time of his death. He had travelled to Dallas almost three years earlier, looking for work and a new beginning. He'd left behind a wife and two daughters.

Born in the Mississippi Delta on a government agricultural experiment farm, he came into a world of poverty and difficulty. When his father came to fetch his maternal grandmother to care for the mother, new baby and the two toddlers, he told her that both mother and child had nearly died. He'd taken a long time to be born. The mid-wife finally laid him in his mother's arms in the three room shack, provided for good tractor drivers.

Melvin, even as a baby had spirit. He would never become the bowed, cowed, broken spirited Black men that shuffled along the dirt roads of the Delta. He stood up for himself.

Melvin had a terrific sense of humor and any family gathering that Melvin attended, was sure to be spiked with laughter. He enjoyed making people laugh. And he enjoyed family gatherings. The big, noisy clan that he was part of, got together often, and he managed to get his share of attention, laughs, and sometimes, other family members' goat. He was a favorite of the younger kids who never took him seriously as a grown-up. "Melvin, come and play with us," they'd call out to him. And he'd make a serious face and scowl: "Don't you know I'm grown?" Often the scowl would collapse into smiles or laughter.

Melvin was generous. If he had only one dime and someone needed the dime, he'd give it to you and never think about it. If he could help you do something, he would.

Melvin had a temper; a quick temper that would appear in an instant, accompanied by loud cusses and threats. But he was unable to maintain the anger very long or to hold a grudge. He had been known to collapse in a fit of giggles in the middle of threatening to "beat your a--." Or to go and sit down quietly if one of his elder relatives told him to.

Melvin drank and liquor was the stimulant that brought out the anger. At home in Indianola, Mississippi and later in Memphis, Tennessee, when he had too much to drink and began to hassle people, someone would simply take him home or find a relative to come and get him.

His family thinks that if he'd been at home, he'd still be alive.

Melvin's body was flown back to Mississippi and buried at a little church in the country, not too far from where he was born, went to school, played, dreamed, and suffered the agonies of racism and poverty. The family of poor people put him away nicely. They say he wore a smile on his still youthful face.

Melvin was my older sister's youngest son. We grew up together, although I'm older. I nursed, bathed and took care of him when he was a baby and later, when my oldest child was born, he returned the favor.

Melvin understood why I worked with prisoners and was opposed to the death penalty, and supported my work. He had felt the harsh hand of the law as a teenager for truancy and fighting. He later served some months in a prison for assault. He knew about the fear and horror of the inside world.

I'm often asked by reporters and proponents of the death penalty how I would

feel about the death penalty if someone I loved was killed. And I've always answered honestly, that I didn't know how I'd feel. Well now I know.

The telephone rings in the middle of the night in a dingy, old, walk-up rent controlled apartment building where I live. Melvin's brother, Leroy is on the other end of the line. He told me Melvin was dead. He gave me the details, the detective's number and number at the morgue. We called the rest of the family with our awful message.

I felt dead inside. I waited for the anger to come, but it didn't come. I waited for the tears to flow, but it was as if I was suddenly dead - dried up - inside. Hours later, I went to bed and waited for sleep, which also didn't come.

In the next hectic 72 hours, I felt anger, but not at the faceless old man who had ended Melvin's laughter, but at the poverty that made some of us choose between going to the funeral or sending money to help with the funeral arrangements. Why do people have to choose in these crucial family times?

I felt pain, when a friend, whom I'd called to ask about agency help to get the body home asked me, in all sincerity, why were we trying to bring him home? She really didn't know that we couldn't leave Melvin in a strange place where his spirit would be restless and lonely. Loneliness is terrible.

I felt powerless, as my younger sister turned to me to find out how he died. Who would kill Melvin? And why? It is terribly important to her to know. I keep trying to explain that to the Division of Crimes Against Persons, but they don't understand Emma (my sister) and the shock of this violence to her gentle spirit. They can't give any more information.

I think about Mr. Anderson Price and wonder what he is like. Is this his first killing? Is he traumatized? Is he alone in a jail cell, or is he back at home, smoking a pipe, or rocking in his favorite chair or whatever he was doing before he pulled the trigger on December 5? My mind won't let me feel anger towards him. Perhaps it's the social work training, or maybe I know how frightened senior citizens are of younger males.

We don't know whether Mr. Price is Black or White, and although one witness has contacted the family to tell us that Melvin was murdered in cold blood, we know that we will never know what happened.

And what would Melvin say should happen to Mr. Price if I could ask him? I don't know. I never thought to ask him. I would imagine, knowing Melvin's philosophical nature, that he would say. "Now L.C. what good would killing him do? That'd just be two people dead then." And thinking about his wisdom, he'd laugh out loud.

I now know what the answer is the next time someone who believes in executions asks: "How would you feel if it was someone you loved? I will answer: dead and dry inside. And I know with a certainty, from which fate has removed the last crucible of doubt, that the death penalty is wrong, and that executing Mr. Price won't bring back Melvin's laughter.

From the newsletter of the DC Coalition Against the Death Penalty

A VERDICT FOR CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

Rip Keller

BURLINGTON, VT—Rarely have U.S. courts found acts of civil disobedience legal. And the most recent example differs significantly from past ones, say lawyers acquainted with the case.

After a four day trial here, a jury acquitted 26 men and women charged with trespassing, although they admitted occupying a U.S. Senator's office in an attempt to make him hold a public meeting on military aid to Central America.

Prosecution and defense attorneys agree that the case is likely to have social consequences in addition to its possible legal effects.

Two features of the case were unusual. First, the court allowed the jury to consider international law in deciding on the legality of the defendants' actions. Second is a technical point which redefines the burden of proof in certain criminal cases.

The facts of the case stem from actions taken last spring, when Congress was preparing to vote on military aid to countries in Central America. Vermont's Senator Robert Stafford, a moderate Republican, supported the aid.

A group of his constituents—some alarmed by reports of army violence against civilians in Central America, others who had visited the region—believed that if Stafford could be induced to withdraw his sup-

port for the military aid, other senators would follow. This, they hoped, would pressure Central American military groups which rely on U.S. aid to reduce operations which bring civilian casualties.

At the trial, defendants testified that initial responses from the senator's office consisted of form letters, which made them think the senator did not understand their concerns. Then, following unsuccessful attempts to communicate more fully, the group went to the senator's office to demand that he hold a public meeting to explore the issue. When Stafford declined, the group refused to leave the office. Two days later, they were arrested for criminal trespass.

In claiming they were not guilty, the defendants used the "defense of necessity" or burning house defense. Briefly, courts have held it is legal to break a law in order to prevent a greater harm. Thus a person who dashes into a burning building to save someone is not guilty of trespass, provided he or she has reason to believe this mode of action can be effective.

To show they had been responding to an emergency, the defendants called witnesses who testified to military and paramilitary killings and torture in Central America, and identified the Salvadoran army, which receives U.S. aid, as a major source of such actions.

Witnesses included two former CIA employees, a young anthropologist who had inadvertently been caught in a Salvadoran military operation, native

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People

Ellen Ash Peters, a former Yale law professor, has become the chief justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court. She is the state's first female chief justice and the only woman currently on the court.

Leon Shull has retired as director of ADA after working for the organization for 34 years. Since 1964 has has been director of the national organization. Shull will continue to be active as a lobbying on employment and nuclear disarmament issues. The new director is Ann Lewis, formerly political director of the Democratic National Committee.

Restructuring

The Reagan administration, which has had mixed success turning over the nation's resources and responsibilities to private industry, has apparently decided to go double or nothing. It would seem that the president has determined to give to the private sector nothing less than the White House itself.

The evidence is two-fold. First, the administration decided to treat the inauguration as a potential profit-center. The hucksterism of this inaugural hit a new high and leads to the thought that if such events are to be used as a way of making money, shouldn't those involved be subject to the rules governing trade in this country? The implied warranty involved in inaugural addresses, for example, should be thoroughly considered by the Federal Trade Commission and the Consumer Product Safety Commission might want to take a close look at Secretary Weinberger as well. He would appear to be far more dangerous than any children's toy with which I have had contact.

Secondly, it was reported that Donald Regan, the new White House chief of staff, views his job as being that of "chief operating officer." Of the country presumably. The president, in the Regan view, is kicked upstairs to being chairman of the board and other White House aides will function in the manner of corporate vice presidents. It is not clear where this leaves the members of the cabinet, although I imagine they are to be considered something akin to branch managers.

Since this involves a rather major change in the nature of our government, and since there is neither legislative nor constitutional provision for redesigning the executive branch along the lines of a Fortune 500 company, one would hope there would be some questioning of this restructuring (that's what they call it in business; in Latin America it's called a coup) before it gets much further.

It is worth remembering that the last time anyone talked like this was when Alexander Haig said, "I'm in charge here." It caused a ruckus at the time, but the Regan version seems to be considered just good business. At least Haig was in the constitutional line of succession.

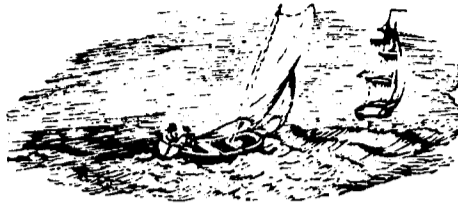
There is, however, a good side to all of this. If the corporate model is adhered to faithfully, we need no longer worry about war, but only a hostile leveraged takeover bid.

Which way is up?

It is hard to expect Americans to understand what is going on in their government when the media describes it as poorly as it has recent consideration of the federal budget. It is to be expected that presidents, senators and defense secretaries will prevaricate, obfuscate and waffle, but it was once considered a prime function of

TOPICS

Sam Smith



the press to translate all this piffle into something a little closer to what the average person would call a fact -- or the truth.

This useful service is, in too many cases, no longer provided. I suspect this is due in part to the tendency of today's media to overidentify with its subjects, most especially in Washington -- a town filled with reporters who appear uncertain as to whether they are journalists or high ranking civil servants. In some cases, especially on the op-ed pages of our leading journals, one finds correspondents whose delusions have led them so far as to cause them to believe they are actually the secretary of state.

This causes a number of problems, not the least of which is the strange sense the reader gets of overhearing a private discussion between, say, the secretary of state by presidential appointment and the secretary of state by pathological inclination.

Readers not from the Washington area may be puzzled by Des Wilson's reference, in his London Letter this month, to Britain becoming the fifty-second state. This, however, displays a high state of political consciousness on Mr Wilson's part, as he is obviously prepared to wait until DC becomes the 51st member of the union.

In fact, Des has watched the DC statehood movement from the start and once wrote a column for the *Observer* supporting the concept at a time when the *Washington Post* would barely mention it.

In the first DC Statehood campaign the matter of order of admission to the union became an issue as well. The Statehood Party, ever aware of minorities, had bumper stickers printed in Spanish and even in Chinese (although the number of Chinese voters probably was in the low hundreds). The person who designed the Spanish bumper stickers came from Puerto Rico and had priorities of his own. Fortunately, the campaign manager spoke Spanish and was able to stop the printing of thousands of stickers that read "Make DC the Fifty-Second State."

Having learned this trade in a simpler time, I remain of the view that if a journalist is going to overidentify with anyone it should be the reader. And the journalist who, after all, is little more than the surrogate eyes and ears of the reader, has to begin -- at a bare minimum, by speaking the language of the reader and not that of the subject.

Herein lies the trouble with the budget coverage. If my wife and I decide to "cut our food budget" both of us will understand that what we are talking about is spending less money for food each week then is presently the case. If, however, we were a defense secretary, president, senator, or a journalist covering such types, we could mean several other things instead, towit:

- We are going to slow down the rate at which we have been increasing our spending for food, so we will spend only 9% more this year instead of the 12% more we spent last year.

- We are going to spend 15% more for food this year but that's really a cut because last fall we talked about spending 20% more.

- We will increase our spending for food but at a rate less than the consumer price index so we will actually be cutting our expenditures.

In the view of most normal people, none of these three decisions would, in fact, be considered a cut and one would be unlikely, outside of the rare two-bureaucrat family, to find either spouse arguing that it was.

Such is not the case in Washington. Over the past few weeks, I have repeatedly seen the changes discussed in the defense budget described as "cuts" and "savings" when they are nothing of the sort. This is to be expected of the Moonie-run *Washington Times*, but surely tight, lively journalism does not require such a distortion from *USA Today*. Even the *Washington Post* got caught up in the misleading rhetoric. To be sure, in the stories I checked, clarification was offered but these pieces were of the "Can You Find the Facts in This Story?" variety, easily throwing off any but the most diligent reader.

For example, a December 14 lead item in the *Post* spoke in the first paragraph of Secretary Weinberger's opposition to "any significant slowdown in Reagan's military buildup," but then went on to discuss "reductions in Pentagon spending" and plans to "trim defense spending." The headline read, "Budget-Cutting Deadlocked." After a reasonable start, the *Post* moved quickly into the distorted language of "trim/reduce/cut," thus leaving the casual reader confused as to which way the Pentagon budget was going.

The *New York Times*, which tends to be little more careful in these matters, actually used the word "rise" to describe the military budget in a December 7 story and

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DES WILSON: LONDON LETTER

American football & British oil

Until recently, Britain had only three television channels. Now we have a fourth. The subject of much criticism when it opened, it is rapidly winning acclaim as the best of the four. It combines new films that would not find a place on the popular channels with old films we all hoped would return some day. It has also resurrected some of the more popular television series of the sixties so that the middle-aged, such as I, can relive our youth.

Its main innovation, however, has been to screen for seventy-five minutes every Sunday night a game of American football.

When the idea was announced, it was assumed that a few Americans living and working in London would watch it, while a bemused populace would reach for the switch and turn over to no matter what on another channel.

Instead American football has become one of the hit television programs of Channel Four. As a result, the small seaside town of Brighton when I live recently advertised its first American football game. It took place on a muddy park one Sunday afternoon and drew a surprisingly large crowd. American football clubs are being started all over Britain.

The seven-year-old who shares our house burst out of his room the other day with a cycle helmet on his head and clothes stuffed under his jumper to represent shoulder pads and announced that he wanted the full gear for his next birthday.

Now British viewers like myself (who had the misfortune to become addicted to American sport as a result of the influence of the children of the Review's editor) are writing to Channel

Four to request that they show baseball as well.

This is of more than passing importance because the comparative state of the American and British economy is such that, for the first time, we who found it possible to travel fairly regularly to the United States can no longer afford to do so. I first met our worthy editor in 1972 when I came to cover the Nixon-McGovern election. One could, at that time, obtain \$2.50 to the pound. Now we are closer than we have ever been in history to complete parity — one dollar to one pound.

This makes a trip to Britain for Americans an attractive proposition but the reverse almost impossible.

Of far greater importance, it reveals the underlying weakness of the British economy. When we discovered North Sea

oil, it was naturally assumed that by not having to import oil, and instead being able to sell it abroad, we would become affluent to an extent we had never known before.

It is perhaps typical of the way Britain has been mis-governed that the expression "oil-rich nation" has never been applied to the UK.

Firstly, Britain has defied the attempts of the OPEC countries to control oil prices and supplies in such a way as to achieve the maximum return for our one national asset, and make it last for as many years as possible.

Second the remainder of the economy has been run down to such an extent that instead of the oil money adding cream onto the milk, it has had to replace the milk itself. More than three million people are sustained on unemployment pay with the oil money. It props up public services that we could otherwise not afford. And, perhaps the worst reflection of Thatcherism of all, it has been used to drastically cut the taxes of the well-off.

North Sea oil money provided Britain with a unique opportunity to invest in its infrastructure, launch fresh industries and set itself up for the next century. Instead it is being wasted with an irresponsibility that the generations to come will never forgive.

Once the dollar becomes worth more than the pound, and this has to be a real possibility, we will need that to the fact that we are now in defense terms an American missile pad and consider seriously whether time has not come to become the fifty-second state.

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DATE CHANGE

From time to time, this being a leisurely journal of opinion, we get out of synch with the calendar. To correct this and to correspond to the mores of traditional publishing, we simply declare a double issue, which puts the Review back to appearing before the date on the cover. The double issue also reassures librarians that they haven't missed any issues. Rest assured that this manipulation of the months will have no effect on the length of your subscription. You will receive all the issues you paid for.



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READING MATTER

GREEN POLITICS: THE GLOBAL PROMISE

by Fritjof Capra and Charlene Spretnak
(E.F. Dutton, 1984. 243 pages.
Hardback, \$11.95)

In March of 1983, a large eight foot diameter ball painted like the earth was rolled into the Federal Parliament of West Germany announcing a new political force entering history. The "Greens," West Germany's ecological party, had gotten more than the necessary 5% of the vote, giving them 27 new parliamentary seats.

On May 6th, 1984, a small gathering of people in Berkeley, CA rolled this same earth ball from the Julia Morgan Center for the Arts down to Ho Chi Minh park to announce the publication of a new book about the Greens titled: Green Politics. Apropos the subtitle "global promise," a key issue discussed in the book (as well as by the people in the local procession) is the possibility of a green politics in the United States. In order to make their case for such a politics, the authors Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof Capra describe in detail the history, development and political advancements of the Greens in West Germany. After describing Green politics in West Germany, they discuss the worldwide green movement -- a movement that has gotten little (and/or misrepresenting) coverage in the United States, but which now consists of various Green parties, electoral lists and extra-electoral networks in most Western European nations, as well as Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. Already, Green Parties and ecologically oriented Radical Parties have gained repre-

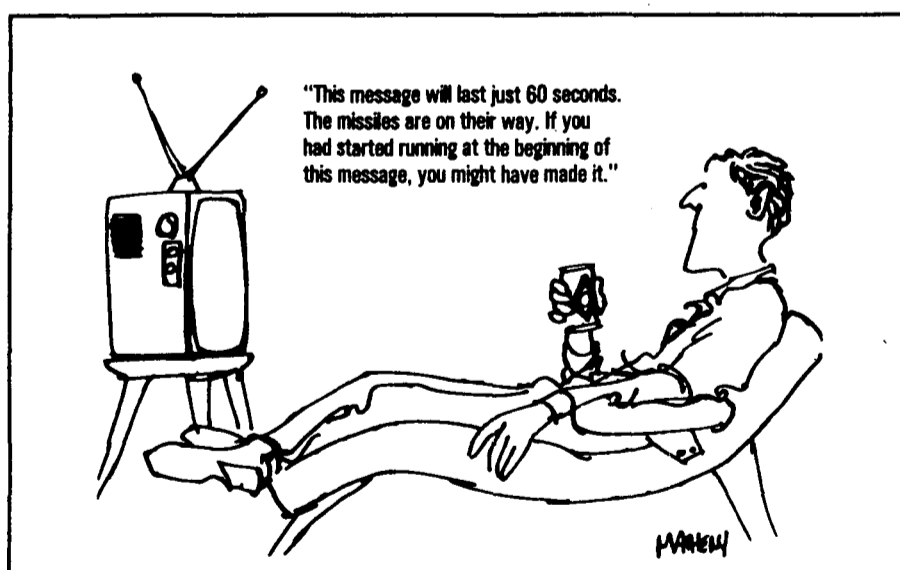
This review is from the newsletter of the Institute of Social Ecology, Plainfield, Vermont.

sentation at all levels of government up to the federal level in Holland, Finland, Italy, Iceland, Belgium and Switzerland, as well as West Germany.

The section on the West German Greens, amounting to almost 3/4's of the book, is the most interesting, because it details the exciting, innovative and ever surprising kinds of politics that the West German Greens have been engaged in. Calling themselves neither "left" nor "right", the Greens attempt to extract the positive elements of both the socialist and liberal-democratic traditions while combining them with new radical elements (such as non-violence and civil disobedience) which neither tradition has substantially included. Moreover their ecological orientation includes a critique of policies based on continuous, unchecked economic and industrial expansion ("growth") which no Western political tradition or party has seriously questioned.

The principles of the Green's politics are summarized in the four-sided shape of their federal program: Ecology, Social Responsibility, "Basis" or "grassroots" democracy, and Nonviolence. Spretnak and Capra do an excellent job of describing these ideas, as well as detailing the ways they become realized in the politics of the Greens. "Basis democracy", for example, becomes an intrinsic part of the Greens party structure. They seek to avoid having professional politicians by rotating their seats in parliament every two years, while they also seek to avoid the development of a party bureaucracy by preventing an overlap of positions between those who work in the offices, those who have party

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THE BEST OF THE REALIST: Paul Krassner, whose work has appeared on these pages from time to time over the years, was one of those writers who taught a generation to distrust authority and its effluvia. He has assembled some of the best writing and cartoons that appeared in his publication, *The Realist*, into this book which will be a treasure for all those who want to remember, or learn about the sixties. Contributors include Ken Kesey, Woody Allen, Terry Southern, Mort Sahl, Kurt Vonnegut, Henry Morgan, Dick Gregory, Joseph Heller, Marvin Kitman, Lenny Bruce and Norman Mailer. Published by Running Press (125 South 22nd St, Philadelphia Pa. 19103), it sells for \$8.95 at bookstores. Or you can order it through the mail by adding a buck for postage.



Ten years later

SAM SMITH

Quite by accident, I recently ran across an article I wrote in 1966 on the subject of home rule. It was bombastic and righteous in the extreme and appeared under the headline: "We Are Fed Up." (I believe it was E.B. White who noted that only monarchs, editors and tapeworms get to use the editorial "we.") I realized as I reread these words nearly twenty years later how appealing that sense of righteousness was at the time — and that some of us have had the singular good luck to live a portion of our lives with the confidence that what we were saying, doing and writing was indisputedly right. If those too young to have been involved in the home rule, civil rights or anti-war movements sometimes find among those who were involved an almost perverse longing for those essentially evil times, it is not that we want to return to the days of three commissioners, segregated schools or Saigon, but simply nostalgia for a time when we knew what the hell we were doing.

So one thing that stands out today about a movement such as that for home rule was the pure sense of righteousness. The other was the spirit of selflessness and the comradeship. Don't try to find the hero of home rule — there were too many. It was a community of the weak becoming strong. And it was a time — despite the inevitable fractiousness (Julius Hobson vs. Walter Fauntroy, Marion Barry vs. Channing Phillips), of an underlying understanding that personal claims would have to be restrained until victory was won. That was good, too.

And it was good that we had battles to win and that we won them. But now with a little time elapsed, now with real power gained and distributed, it doesn't hurt to ask what we dropped along the way. Some of the issues we failed to discuss then plague us now and will into the distant future.

They plague us because we, at the start, never discussed what we meant by home rule. It may seem strange

that the idea of constitutional parity did not come until late in the home rule struggle. The statehood movement began only fourteen years ago and was, for many years thereafter, considered an odd and radical effort incompatible with the course of true home rule.

The issue of home rule for whom was never truly raised and discussed. By the time we approached having an elected government, it was assumed by most that what we were seeking was a government that imitated, in all virtues and faults, other city governments. It was only by accident that a stranger to the city, Representative Donald Fraser, inserted in the home rule legislation the one truly innovative idea — that of neighborhood commissions. This idea, incidentally, was opposed by those who would most likely be the immediate beneficiaries of home rule as first office holders. There was even an attempt — the source of which never discovered, to sabotage the whole effort in the Senate through legislative sleight of hand.

But this gift of neighborhood commissions aside, the established home rule advocates at no time considered the question of who should govern under home rule. The question was considered moot — it was assumed that they would.

Further, the interconnections between political, social and economic democracy were not discussed. The home rule advocates, for the most part, happily assumed that political democracy would cure all ills — that the Board of Trade, I guess, would move its offices to the Shirlington shopping center once its battle against self-government was lost.

Nor was there any inkling of the radical undercurrents of today — in which the concept of government being evil or benevolent depending upon the right winner is challenged by the concept of government as one of those powers that can threaten human freedom and happiness no matter who is elected. I saw a T-shirt the other day that read "If Voting Changed Anything It Would Be Illegal." And the bumper sticker: "Don't Vote; It Only Encourages Them."

No. Home rule was going to take care of everything.

The fact that this turned out not to be true does not cancel the mighty benefits that home rule has brought us, but it will not help us in the present or the future to pretend that we still do not have many miles to walk before achieving something that is, in a real, lasting, and human sense, home rule.

Those who came closest to sensing this and the importance of this were led almost inevitably to the more radical forms of home rule effort: Marion Barry's Free DC Movement in the sixties and Julius Hobson's statehood movement in the 70s. And I believe, although this may be my own self-deception, that there was a relationship between these movements

upping the ante of home rule and the tangible benefits that shortly accrued — an elected school board following Barry's effort and an elected mayor and council four years after Hobson's. Both the Free DC Movement and the statehood movement proved the efficacy of demanding more than half a loaf.

The statehood movement was also unusual in another way: alone of the home rule movements it presented a holistic view of what a home rule community should look like. It presented a platform that covered everything from neighborhood councils to taxis. I believe, in fact, that the Statehood Party was the first Green Party. Compare the West German Green Party's platform of today with that of the Statehood Party of the 70s and you will be struck by the similarity of concerns and attitude. Decentralist, environmentally committed, strong for human freedom and against the abuse of power, the early Statehooders, led by Julius Hobson who would never rest his faith on the election of some benevolent ruler, perceived the need to define home rule as more than a mere transfer of power. He understood that home rule meant more than replacing John McMillan with Walter Fauntroy.

Today, statehood has succeeded traditional home rule as the standard by which our success is measured. We have come a long way. We have a constitution — at least for the time being. We have bills in the House and Senate and an increasing aura of respectability.

But, as fifteen years ago, I would have said that home rule is not enough; so I suggest today that statehood is not enough. Yes, we still need and deserve constitutional equity, but once we are equal with other states we will still be behind where we should be.

To understand why, let's look at the first ten years of home rule:

- The election of local officials has become a normalcy, but instead of the hope and enthusiasm with which we greeted the early votes, we have learned that those we elect can, too often, neither inspire nor be trusted.

- The business interests that were once the major obstacle to home rule now enjoy more sweeping power than they did prior to the granting of home rule. I would submit that the average politician in city hall today is at least, if not more, beholden to these interests than was the case under the three commissioner system. There remains little economic home rule in DC.

It is important to note that during the ten years of home rule, and endless dollars for, and talk about, economic progress, sales tax revenue in DC has just barely kept up with inflation. And jobs for DC residents have declined. Yet millions have been spent and the ownership and character of the city has dramatically changed. Who has been the beneficiary?

● In ten years we have seen some of our politicians turn from forthright and often courageous defenders of the interests of the people into their manipulators and parasites.

● Amazingly, these politicians have become so insensitive to self-government — defining it primarily as their reelection and greater acquisition of power, that they can approve such assaults on home rule as cancelling neighborhood commission elections for bureaucratic reasons and postponing the election of our surrogate senators and representative. Further, none that I know of saw the conflict with home rule in the turning over of much of downtown to the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Commission. And Mayor Barry even considered at one point proposing the abolition of the school board on the grounds, presumably, that he could make better selections than the people.

● We have dealt neither honestly nor well with the social and economic problems that beset the city. Those issues that have refused to go away — despite two administrations best efforts to evict them to Prince Georges County, we simply ignore. Housing, health, and poverty lie waiting to be rediscovered in some new Great Society era by another round of Pulitzer-winning reporters who will move us with tales of what we should have known all along.

True, our city is better run; it is fairer; the police don't beat quite so many people over the head; there is hope where before there was none. But I submit that much of it

In trying to come up with the good news — real, human, good news, not mere technological or bureaucratic improvement of which there has been plenty but which can occur under fascism as easily as under democracy, my mind drifted to that backwater of the DC political system: the Board of Education. That's where it all began, where home rule came some years earlier than at city hall. And here is where where home rule has perhaps best met its promise. But what a haul it has been. Yet I don't know anyone who would argue that the schools are not demonstrably better than they were at the time the elected board took over. During the more rambunctious era of school politics I used to argue that the schools wouldn't get better until their constituency — black mothers and fathers, demanded that they get better. I think that is what has happened and I think one of the reasons it has happened is that the school board has been largely exempt from the temptations of political power that afflict the mayor's office and the city council. If there were power and money in schools, it would be to our loss.

I think the demand for a better sort of mayor and city council will come too, and it is with that optimism that I keep working for statehood. But the obstacles are much greater. We have, I fear, in home rule (and more so in statehood) created both an opportunity and an attractive nuisance. The temptations are simply too great. But the answer is not to go back to the good old days; the answer was given by Al Smith in

1933: "All the ills of democracy can be cured by more democracy."

We can continue to rely on seeking the same status as New York City or Iowa or we can, once again, set our sights higher, saying that we can be better than just equal on paper. We can demand a form of home rule that dispenses power not to just a few at the top but to the mass of the people.

We do not have to wait to elect the benevolent or for statehood. We have already given ourselves the power of initiative. Julius Hobson did not wait for statehood. He pressed for an initiative bill so the people could correct for themselves what their legislators would not.

I think we should come to regard an election without an initiative or two like a day without sunshine. I think also that the chairs of the neighborhood commissions should organize themselves into an assembly to exert political pressure on the city government that will reflect the concerns of the neighborhoods.

In any case, we should in the next ten years redefine home rule not as a mere acquisition of the status enjoyed by others, important as this may be, but by big and little actions, by pressure on the council and Congress, by strengthening the powers of the neighborhood commissions or by voter initiative, define it as the granting of self-government to as many as possible and not to a score of people at the top who seem to have forgotten what home rule is really all about.

(Please turn to page 22)

Thorns to DC Corporation Counsel Inez Smith Reid for taking an inconsistent stand on prosecution of protesters at embassies. Reid recently said that the prosecution of five persons arrested at the South African Embassy would serve "no significant District of Columbia interest." Last year, however, Reid told the US District Court that there was a "compelling governmental interest" in preventing protests at the Soviet Embassy. In 1983, the city prosecuted two young conservatives who burned a flag in front of the Soviet chancery. The pair were sentenced to a five day jail term. The two are now appealing the decision with the help of the ACLU. One can't help wonder if the real difference between the cases was that in one it was liberals who were protesting and in the other it was conservatives. Making such a choice is one of the things that makes this country more like both the Soviet Union and South Africa.



Roses & Thorns

Roses to Fairfax County Police Chief Carroll D Buracker who has held out against the trend of sobriety roadblocks. Says Buracker, "I'm very hard on drunk drivers, but I'm not so sure we want to start stopping people randomly on the roads. There is too much government intrusion already ... and the figures show roadblocks are not the answer to drunk driving." Right. In Prince Georges County on New Years Eve, police stopped 2189 people and arrested four.

Roses to the US Court of Appeals which ruled last month that Metro had unconstitutionally rejected station billboards with an anti-Reagan theme. The poster, a montage featuring Reagan and pals banqueting and confronting a group of citizens with the legend "Tired of the Jellybean Republic?," was created by local artist Michael Lebron. Metro claimed the poster was false and deceptive.

Roses to the Folger Theatre which, whether intentionally or not, slated for the night of the Inaugural Balls the opening of "Much Ado About Nothing."

Roses to DC Citizens for Better Education, which, sadly, is closing its doors after twenty years of service to the city. The group has been a major watchdog of the DC school system and was frequently a rare voice of sanity during that system's more troubled years. It spawned the Reading is Fundamental Program and did important research on the local schools.

CHUCK STONE

Kennedy & South Africa

An open letter to the brothers and sisters of the Azanian People's Organization in the Colony of South Africa:

Dear Friends: The last time I was in South Africa I played "the man's" game. I stayed in the Carlton Hotel as an "honorary white." But I caucused with some the brothers who were working there, hoping to link our souls through the universality of Senghor's la negritude.

They joyfully slapped my palm when I suggested we form a South African-Black American organization called Eyethu (ours), the name of that burned-out theater in Soweto.

Although it was a first trip to your enslaved paradise, I was no stranger. Twenty-four years ago, your brothers in exile, Vusumzi Make and Oliver Tambo, sat in my cramped New York City apartment in the Bronx, describing the day when black South Africans would restore their raped land to its ancient dignity.

In every journey to freedom, the oppressed people must be the

navigators. Freedom cannot be "imposed by a deus ex machina upon the social scene," warned Frantz Fanon. Nor can your most well meaning brothers and sister in the African Diaspora author you strategy or set its pace. Each revolution is unique. Promised Mao Tse-Tsung: "A revolution does not march a straight line. It wanders where it can, retreats before superior forces, advances wherever it has room, attacks whenever the enemy retreats or bluffs, and above all, is possess of enormous patience."

That has been true whether the oppressed people were being unshackled in America, revolting in Haiti, gaining independence in Ghana or battling for nationhood in Algeria.

From 15,000 miles away, we cannot tell you how to destroy Botha's apartheid anymore than you can tell us how to combat Reagan's racism. That's why I have problems with the "Sullivan Principles" for South Africa. As your beloved Bishop Desmond Tutu has declared — and I fully support him — the Sullivan Principles are an amoral accomodation with genocide — your genocide.

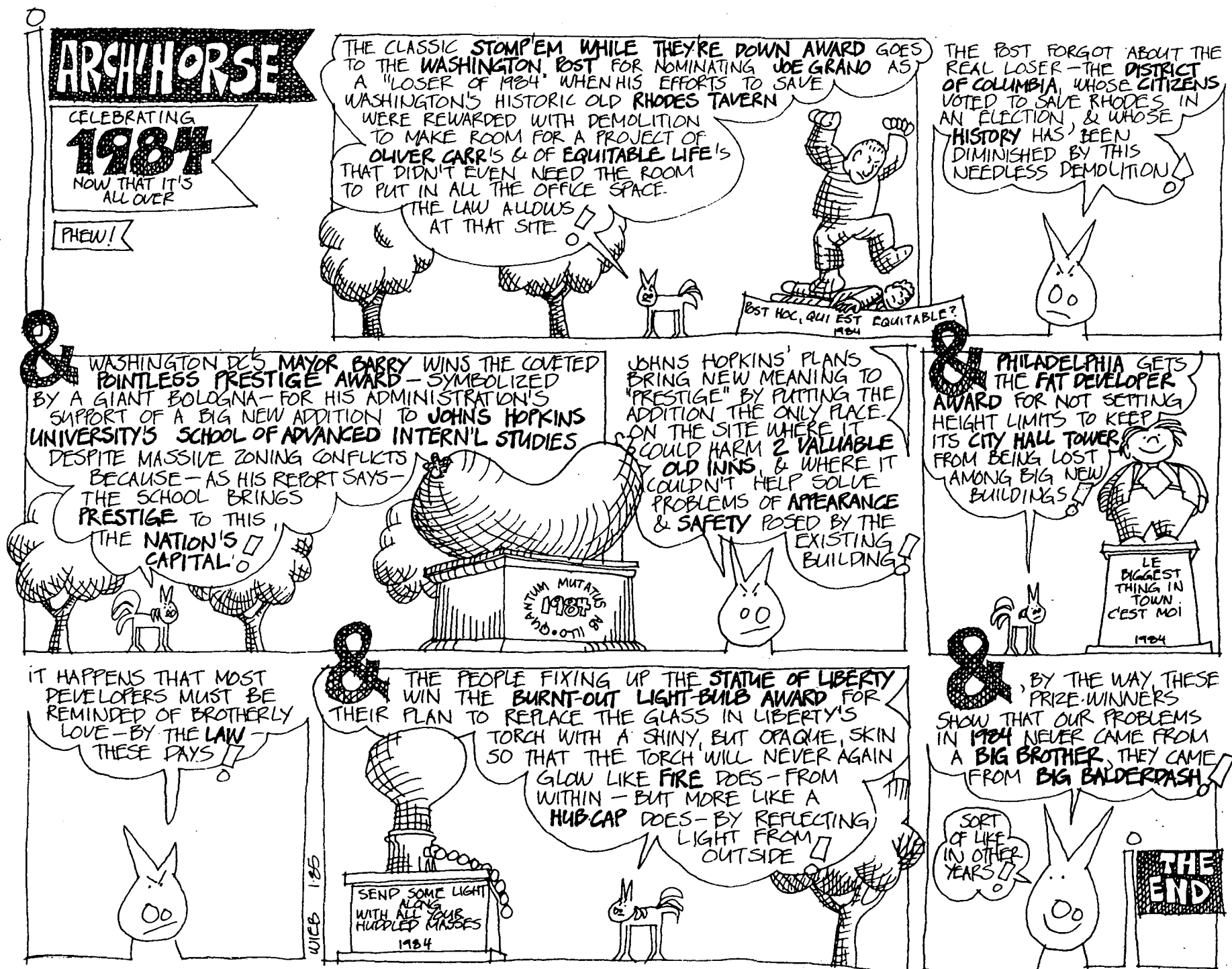
Yet the flower of freedom blossoms whenever it is watered by friends. Every struggle is uplifted by allies.

For the last quarter of a century, one o black America's strongest friends and most beloved allies has been Sen. Edward M. Kennedy. We dearly love this man. Members of his family have given their careers and sacrificed their lives for black America. That splendid tradition makes it impossible for him to be a sunshine soldier in the war for justice.

In this unashamed paen to a great humanitarian I do not claim to speak for black America. But I do speak for a record of black American affection. Five years ago, when Kennedy ran for the presidency, black Americans in Philadelphia voted almost two to one for Kennedy over Jimmy Carter.

If you statement insists that Kennedy "has no mandate from the people for a visit" that's an internal matter between the Azanian brothers and sisters. But I think the record disputes your pretensions to leadership. How can you say Kennedy has "no mandate from the people of Azania" when the Azanian Bishop Tutu invited him? How can you say Kennedy has "no mandate" when thousands of Azanians enthusiastically welcomed him? How can you say Kennedy has "no mandate" when your beautiful sister, Winnie Mandela, who has been banned for eight years, hailed his visit as "the most thrilling" of her lifetime?

(Please turn to page 22)



CHARLES MCDOWELL

Sternus vulgaris

The local journals, parochially concerned with deficits and tax simplification, missed the starlings story. But the New York Times was alert, and in its "Washington Talk" column told us about the White House starlings.

"Every morning, by the dawn's early light, thousands of starlings take off from their perches in the magnolia trees around the White House. They fly to Virginia and Maryland to spend the day on the job, which is mostly eating bugs and worms. At the twilight's last gleaming these reverse commuters fly back home to the White House," the Times said.

"They are hardly welcome there because of the mess and noise they make, especially around the patio of the South Portico, facing the Mall. The birds have outlasted all attempts at eviction."

Sternus vulgaris—that is the marvelous Latin name—will continue to outlast the silly noise-making devices and toy snakes deployed by the grounds-keepers. The starlings will adapt to stronger measures, too, to all the ingenuity of Republicans or Democrats, to almost anything short of cutting down the magnolia trees they roost in.

The Times did not go into the history of the starling, but I am glad to tell you that *sternus vulgaris* has been living easily with human disapproval and countermeasures for many centuries. The starlings' American experience goes back only to 1890, as it happens, but the birds are now established and unpopular throughout the country.

On March 16, 1890, 60 starlings from Europe were released in Central Park, in New York City. They had been imported by people who somehow had taken it into their heads to introduce into America all the birds mentioned by Shakespeare.

The play is "King Henry the Fourth," in which Hotspur says, "I'll have a starling shall be taught nothing but 'Mortimer.'" Mortimer was a character to be mocked, and Shakespeare knew, though few Americans do to this day, that starlings are mimics.

"Song and Garden Birds of North America," published by the National Geographic, says the starling is "a born noise-maker [which] squeaks, rattles, wheezes and whistles. It mimics the songs of other birds and even the sounds of barking dogs, mewing cats and human wolf-whistles."

The Asian starling, the myna, mimics human words and phrases.

I do not imply that the National Starlings will soon be talking to President Reagan about tax simplification. My point is that they are remarkably smart, adaptable birds, and we ought to appreciate their resourcefulness while wishing they would take their mess and noise somewhere else.

When my children were growing up they and their mother were bird watchers. We had feeders in the yard and binoculars on the hall table, and we trekked far and wide in search of the elusive this and that. In Arizona once, I spotted the coppery-tailed trogon

ahead of everybody else, and it was by moment of greatest glory in the family.

But I resented (or pretended to resent) the others' fascination with exotic and "good" birds while patronizing common, scruffy birds. I became a populist of bird watchers, concentrating on the plain ones and gradually specializing in starlings.

I have seen starlings work the lawn with robins, work tree trunks with woodpeckers, and work the seashore with sandpipers or whatever they are, running along the foamy line of waves, snatching seafood. I have seen them work behind a farmer's plow for grubs, and I have seen them hang upside-down on a feeder and eat stuff reserved for birds who are supposed to know such acrobatics.

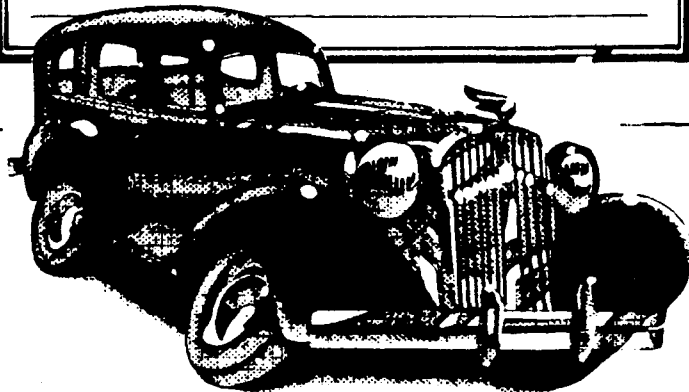
Starlings adapt. They do mew like a cat to chase away dumber birds. I have heard a half-dozen starlings join in chorus to imitate the mail truck. I have yelled at starlings eating grass seed (out of the bag) and gotten back a Bronx cheer.

The White House will get used to them.

Richmond Times Dispatch

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WEATHER

Louis — the largest ever held. The group adopted a strategy document with emphasis on long-range approaches and attempts to broaden the base of the movement. The campaign estimates that it lost seven supporters in the House and gained three to four votes in the Senate in last fall's election. Said Marguerite Beck-Rex, news director of the campaign, "This is the year the freeze has decided not to continue as an ad movement, but restructure for the long haul. We're looking at this as a watershed year, at which we institutionalize until we get that freeze. We are even establishing task forces for after the freeze — what we will do then."

MORE BUDGET FALLOUT

According to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities nearly one fifth of President Reagan's proposed domestic budget cuts would come from programs for the poor, and The National Association of State Budget Officers reports that more than half the cuts would result in additional costs for state and local government.

GAYS AND THE FORTUNE 500: A survey by the National Gay Task Force finds that most of the Fortune 500 employees work for corporations that have a policy of not discriminating against homosexuals in employment.

WOMEN UP IN STATE LEGISLATURES: In this session, women will hold 14% of state legislative seats — compared with 8% in 1975. States in which women hold more than 20% of the seats include New Hampshire, Vermont, Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Washington.

KKK: According to the Anti-Defamation League, membership in the KKK has dropped by about a third in the last two years to some 6000 members. Leadership problems, organizational splits and declining contributions have contributed to the fall-off.

NICARAGUA

for Strategic Studies, no jet aircraft of any sort have been delivered and only relatively obsolete tanks.

Compare the Soviet treatment of roughly comparable recipients. South Yemen, with 2 million people (to Nicaragua's 2.8 million) has received some 450 tanks, 48 MiG aircraft, and a quantity of surface-to-surface missiles. Libya, with 3.2 million people, has received 2,800 tanks, including 200 T-72s, 230 of the most advanced MiGs, and a wide variety of other modern systems.

Clearly, the Soviets have supplied only small quantities of relatively unsophisticated equipment to Nicaragua—transfers which have given the Nicaraguans a small advantage on the ground, but have not changed its disadvantage in air power.

This is consistent with the belief, widely held by western observers, that the Soviets are extremely reluctant to become deeply involved in a regional conflict far from their borders.

"The Soviets have taken a good look at the map, and decided that they couldn't sustain a regime like Nicaragua which is plagued by serious security prob-

lems and located in the wrong hemisphere," says Prof. Rajan Menon of Vanderbilt Univ., an expert on Soviet arms transfers. Given their experiences in Afghanistan, Angola and Ethiopia, he explained, the Soviets have become very reluctant to take on new military commitments—especially within Washington's sphere of influence.

This reluctance is "a general theme in Soviet foreign policy," says Menon. "They may make vague statements about international solidarity, but they are generally unwilling to take on any new military commitments."

There are, of course, exceptions—long-time allies like Vietnam, Cuba and North Vietnam—but in general the Soviets seem willing to supply only cash customers, like Libya and Syria, or strategically situated neighbors, like Iran, Iraq and India.

Nicaragua fits in none of these categories, and there is no reason to believe that Moscow will jeopardize its slowly-thawing relations with Washington by changing its arms-supply behavior.

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CRIME

The law does "create" some new federal crimes, but most of them have little direct relevance to the criminal activities most Americans fear.

A more likely result of the new law will be a vast extension of federal police powers. Consider, for example, the "new" crimes. These include burglarizing a pharmacy. A crackdown on "racketeering in obscene matter" prohibits fraudulent trafficking in medical instruments used in abortion. And it is now a federal offense to warn the subject of certain kinds of law enforcement investigations of an impending search.

One new crime which illustrates the potential for political abuse is "damaging or disrupting an energy facility." Since this is defined as a "violent felony," a protestor charged with breaking the lock on the gate of a nuclear power plant could be preventively detained. A friend who had led that person to break the lock would also have committed a federal offense.

Conservatives like Senators Strom Thurmond (R-SC) and Paul Laxalt (R-NV) have hailed the act as a triumph of common sense over woolly-headed liberalism. But their lone dissenting colleague, Mathias, denies that the act is an anti-crime bill—calling it instead, "for the most part, a bill designed to give the American people the impression that the U.S. Senate is doing something about crime."

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BONNER

posed to negotiations, and the fact is that the administration is opposed to negotiations in El Salvador.

Whether or not they'll be successful depends on what the administration decides to do. If they decide to allow negotiations, there will be negotiations. And if the administration doesn't want them, then there won't be meaningful negotiations.

What is the likely scenario for Central America now that Ronald Reagan has been re-elected?

I think you're going to see a step-up in the pressure on the Sandinistas. The bottom line is that the Sandinistas cannot remain in power, period—not by bullets, not by ballots. The Sandinistas could hold the freest and fairest and most honest elections in the history of mankind, and they wouldn't be able to remain in power.

You've got to remember history. In 1954 [President Jacobo] Arbenz, who was elected in free and fair and democratic elections, was tossed out by the CIA under orders from Eisenhower, and in 1973, Allende, a Marxist who was elected in free and fair and honest elections, was tossed out by Nixon and Kissinger.

They're not going to allow a leftist government to remain in power in this hemisphere. It's pretty much that simple. No matter what the Sandinistas do, I

think they'll step up the pressure—regardless of what the Senate or House say. I mean, [CIA Director William] Casey has shown a clear disregard for the law. The *contra* war is not the only example.

How about your personal experiences as a journalist in El Salvador. Did you ever feel threatened?

Not really, I went jogging everyday in San Salvador. Most of my colleagues thought I was nuts. I probably was.

Even though my name was on a hit list. Even though I'd been up with the Salvadoran guerillas and knew that that didn't fit real well with the Salvadoran wealthy and powerful. They and the Salvadoran military weren't really happy about the stories I wrote after being with the guerillas.

When did you find out that you were on a death list?

I guess in March of 1982.

How many other reporters were down there who had been on death lists?

There were others. I think there were about 30 on that list. A lot of them weren't in the country [at the time]. It was a list that I don't think any of us took very seriously. Some of the reporters on the list did leave.

The greater fear in El Salvador is that some guy is going to get drunk, because the foreign press was really hated by the right wing of the country. And all those people carried pistols, and they all drank too much. The fear was that they'd get drunk and take out their aggressions and anger, but it didn't happen.

While writing for the New York Times, did you have any stories significantly changed from the way you originally filed them?

For the most part there wasn't any censorship or changing of my stories in New York. I think the only case that happened was the story after the elections. I think that reflects... It's very difficult to write a story that is out of synch with what everybody else is saying, and after the 1982 elections everybody was pronouncing them a great victory and there was tremendous euphoria.

I wrote a story that said, "Hey, wait a minute. The euphoria may not be justified because it's not going to bring an end to the war. You've got to remember the left did not participate in these elections, so they're not going to lay down their arms." That was the essence of the story.

The story as it appeared in the paper absolutely stunned me. It was the only time that I had seen a story that was very different from what I had filed. The headline of the story was, "The Left's Big Setback." And that is not at all the story I wrote.

The tone of the story seems to change midway.

Yeah. Actually starting at about the fourth paragraph. It was only the top three or four paragraphs that they changed, but of course that sets the tone of a story.

It didn't fit with what everybody else was saying. It's tough enough to be running against the tide on a story.

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SOUTH

result is not simply attacks on affirmative action programs, it is attacks on blacks in general. It is called divide and conquer. Sadly enough, Democrats used the tactics to protect themselves locally. Reagan used it to protect himself nationally.

Economics certainly influences political trends. But to understand our volatile voting patterns today, one must also look at cultural and historical reasons. The intense southern identification with sports, military, religion and winning finds its roots in southern history: the legacy of slavery and white supremacy; scars of the Civil War and reconstruction; federal intervention during the civil rights movement. History is not a thing of the past. It does not go away. It stays with us always, emerging in the forms of culture—how we feel, think, act—and resulting in our politics.

This is not to say that all white people in the South are racists. In fact, just the opposite is true. The South has moved significantly forward in race relations (further than many northern cities). Whenever I had the opportunity to work with white workers to organize them into black-white coalitions for common economic goals, racism quickly disappears.

But left to the political leaders who see their base threatened by such unity, they whip up racial fears to keep black and white divided and thereby powerless. It is no wonder that 8 out of 10 white men in Mississippi and Alabama voted for Ronald Reagan while unemployment in those states still stands at 10%. Reagan's attacks on the Civil Rights Commission, affirmative action and his support of segregated religious colleges reaped him plenty of southern votes.

The Boogey-man

The same results can be said for the tactic of exploiting anti-communist rhetoric. Not since the civil rights movement has anti-communism been used so effectively to divide people in the South and keep them politically impotent. Ronald Reagan and Jesse Helms are master coaches of the technique and their cheerleaders are Democratic politicians.

Almost everyone in the South is running against the boogey-men: The Soviet Union, Cuba and Nicaragua. There is certainly nothing wrong with raising criticism of human rights violations throughout the world during a campaign. But to hear Reagan and Helms espouse their foreign policy concerns one would think that there are only three countries in the world that violate human rights.

Almost no one was talking about the effects of a war-time type increase in the military budget while at the same time cutting job and education budgets. No one was talking about the price of Trident submarines and B-1 bombers while family farms are foreclosed. No one was talking about the real threat of nuclear suicide and its price tag while textile mills are shutting down and workers unemployment benefits are being slashed.

Ronald Reagan, Jesse Helms and their rightwing moral majoritarian friends were preaching that America is "doomed" because "communist union leaders" are trying to organize textile mills; or "communist black militants" are lobbying for a Martin Luther King, Jr. holiday; or "communist peace-niks" are leafleting for a nuclear freeze. When said enough times, over and over again, the average church-going citizen begins to see an abstract communist ghost as their greatest threat—not their daily predicament of unemployment, low wages, wasteful military spending, inadequate child and medical care or poor housing and education.

After four years of intensified anti-communist rhetoric by the Reagan Administration, how Walter Mondale ever thought that he could win the foreign policy debate is beyond rational thinking. Sure, Mondale won the debate on technical points and debate scoring, but he could not out-Reagan Reagan on anti-communism since that *really* is what our foreign policy is all about. Ronald Reagan won the debate not because he didn't fall asleep or lose his mind. He won because he had dramatically convinced, prior to the debate, enough people in the South (and the North), that Chernenko, Castro and

Ortega are the American workers' greatest threats and enemies—not unsafe working conditions, toxic waste or deficits.

Fear of the boogey-man late at night is not rational, but it's a powerful fear. Fear of communism is powerful, too. It moves us to vote for some strange things that may work against our own interests.

Slowing Down Southern Progress

What is so insidious and tragic about this divide and conquer strategy is its long term effects, not its short term victories. The South is a proud land of transition and tradition. From West Texas to Northern Virginia, it is enchanting and exciting—struggling to move with the times yet preserve its rich culture. But false issues and divisive rhetoric by those politicians who sacrifice the common good to protect their individual power interests, is again raising the tension and polarizing the people in a war not seen since the violent clashes twenty years ago.

The real concerns of joblessness, education, equal rights and farming supports were washed over by the rhetoric of states rights, stopping big government and Mondale liberals, and the free enterprise virtues of more God and more money. Interestingly, however, most people in the South do not completely buy the Reagan rhetoric. But enough Democrats have become willing to vote on single issues such as anti-Jackson, anti-abortion, anti-Castro, anti-liberal, anti-gay, anti-separation of church and state that Reagan could conquer the South.

With another Reagan term, anti-communism and military spending will go galloping on and, consequently, so will the deficits and budget cuts. Likewise joblessness and an uncertain future will go on, and consequently, so will the racist appeals of Helms, and even conservative democrats, which suggest that blacks are taking whites' jobs.

Reagan has won, but is America back? Is it going back to pre-civil rights days? Is the South rising again, like Ronald Reagan said during a campaign swing through Macon, Georgia? No way! The "Old South" is rapidly dying. Periodically it shows a spurt of decayed life such as a KKK rally and cross-burning or Jesse Helms appealing to neanderthal fears of confused individuals, but essentially the "Old South" is finished. Integration is firmly rooted, black political leadership continues to gain, intellectual and social consciousness for the "New South" among whites and blacks is accelerating and most importantly, blacks will never go back. Neither they nor history and culture will let them.

But with Reagan's re-election tensions in the South will rise. The positive movements of tradition and transition will be set back because Republicans are a party of division and fear, not unity and progress. Unity and progress can never be achieved on the foundations of anti-communism and racism. It never has and it never will. We have been through these periods before. And as then, the South could lose again.

But so too, may the rest of America. Within American nationalism, anti-communism and racism, are found the impulsive justifications for invading Central America and other adventurist actions. It is a dangerous period for us all.

But we are makers of our own destiny. It is nowhere written that Democratic leaders must follow the tactics of Republicans while promoting symbols of American growth and pride. We need not foster inflammatory myths and further strain social relations to say we love America and will defend our freedoms.

Within the cultures of sports, the military and religion are also found the values of teamwork, support, tolerance and a moral foundation that strives for peaceful co-existence. Strength and fearlessness does not mean adding insult to injury against your opponent. We are not taught in sports to run up the score in order to embarrass the other side. We are taught that strength and fearlessness also means respect for your adversary. The Olympics is a cultural olive branch extended, *particularly*, to our most serious adversary. The Reagan administration used the Olympics to aid and abet the most vicious anti-communist attacks against the Soviet Union by rightwing groups who were well funded to demonstrate and harass Soviet athletes if they came to the Olympics. The true spirit of sports culture was destroyed in the 1984 summer Olympics by the Reagan Ad-

ministration who used it as a stage to orchestrate an American nationalist fervor that made us feel good but further isolated us in the eyes of the rest of the world.

There are several paths for us to travel to our destiny. We can choose which path. We should not choose the path of division and fear. FDR's famous maxim may be more relevant today than 50 years ago: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

VERDICT

Central Americans, former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, social historian Howard Zinn of Boston University, and Prof. Richard Falk of Princeton's Center for International Studies.

This testimony worked to establish the fact that withdrawing U.S. military aid to the region could reduce violence in Central America. This opened the door for the jury to find the defendants' action a reasonable response to an emergency. The fact that Sen. Stafford himself eventually withdrew his support for military aid, after attending a public meeting on the subject, may also have influenced the jury.

Defendants also argued that they had a responsibility to prevent violation of international law. Prof. Falk testified that U.S. law recognizes international treaties and agreements as the supreme law of the land if the United States has signed them. In one case cited, a U.S. court tried a former Latin American official under international law on charges brought by a refugee living here who alleged the official had tortured him.

This idea of invoking international law to override a domestic statute is unusual, perhaps unique. Two factors combined to make this defense possible in the Vermont case.

First, defendants struck a sort of bargain. They agreed to appear in a single trial, which cut the costs of prosecution; in return, the state agreed to allow them to present evidence relating to Central America—though the state planned to, and did, argue that this evidence was not applicable to the question of trespass guilt.

Second, District Court Judge Frank Mahady instructed the jury that they were free to consider the applicability of international law to the case.

In legal terms, the most significant outcome of the case may be a technical point of criminal law, according to attorney Linda Vance of the eight-person defense team. Judge Mahady ruled that once any evidence had been adduced tending to show that there was a necessity for the defendants to act as they did, the burden then shifted to the state to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that there was no such necessity.

Because the verdict was reached in a trial court, rather than on the appellate level, neither it nor the judge's ruling is binding on other courts as legal precedent. However, it stakes a claim that legal observers say is worth watching for future developments.

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TOPICS

described Weinberger as ready to "fight for a large increase in next year's military budget."

The AP, to its credit, caught itself falling into the trap. On December 18 a item was filed saying that "Spokesman Larry Speakes says Reagan has O-K'd cuts in the Pentagon budget of \$8.7 billion..." Twenty-eight minutes later a correction was run changing the sentence to "Spokesman Larry Speakes says Reagan has O-K'd cuts in Pentagon spending growth of \$8.7 billion..." A note ran with the item: "Fixing to show cuts will be

made in spending increase instead of Pentagon budget itself."

Yet here again, the cutting imagery held sway. Phrases like "cutting the growth" and "slowing down the buildup" are not as clear as saying "President Reagan has approved a smaller increase in the defense budget than Secretary Weinberger requested," or "President Reagan has decided that the Pentagon budget will rise less than Secretary Weinberger wanted."

The problem is that verbs tend to be stronger than nouns and if you cut an increase, a certain percentage of readers and listeners will think you are actually reducing something. This is precisely why people who want an increase like to use words like "cut." The press should try to avoid following suit.

If editors and reporters are puzzled how to do this, they should consult their sports departments, which rarely mislead people as to the score or speed and direction of movement of the ball or players. To be sure, you may be told if the margin of victory is changing, but you are seldom left in doubt as to who is ahead. I feel certain that if the Pentagon budget story had been covered by sports-writers rather than by Washington correspondents, the American public would have a far better idea as to just who is winning in all of this.

●

In fact, one of the last national figures I have heard advocate actually cutting the defense budget significantly was George McGovern. Those who pooh-poohed old George may feel differently after they fully comprehend where the money will be coming from in the alternative. We are on the verge of what could be the worst injury this country has inflicted upon itself since the Civil War. We are on the cusp of trashing the country to preserve the Pentagon. If I were a member of the politboro of the Evil Empire, I would be enjoying every minute of it.

Playing it safe

This being a small journal, I have assiduously attempted to avoid running afoul of the libel laws. Have I been cautious? You bet. Have I been scared off of stories because of the legal implications? Damn right.

Although I find the problem annoying and at times worrisome, I don't find it as debilitating as might otherwise be the case because I have learned the truth of I.F. Stone's maxim that most of what the government does wrong it does right out in the open. The most damaging thing you can do to most politicians is to cite the record.

I sometimes think of investigative journalism as being similar to a police officer who, after watching someone drive through a red light, knock over three pedestrians and crash into a

tree, says to himself, "Gee, this guy is up to no good; I think I'll investigate whether he's poisoning his wife."

Indeed, sometimes he is or, in the case of a recent president, poisoning the national well. But there does seem to be a somewhat mistaken impression that whatever you can't see is ipso facto far worse than what you can.

Nonetheless, I am also very grateful that there are large corporate media with banks of lawyers and assets in banks who can afford to do the sort of story the puny press shies away from. And I have followed with grim fascination a significant turn for the worse in matters of libel.

I don't mind being scared of a libel suit but I do mind CBS and Time being intimidated. There is precious little enough courage in such quarters as it is and should either lose their case there should be a major effort to change the law so that a general or the defense secretary of a foreign country, for god's sake, can be challenged for their professional conduct in the prints or on the air with impunity.

Fizzle update

Thanks for all those cards and letters, folks. The back's fine and nothing untoward has happened to me in weeks. Anyway, it could have been worse. One of the notes came from Peter Wolff, who has been reviving and editing a lively neighborhood paper in DC called the Intowner. Peter wrote: "I know the feeling: I had a heart attack on December 20th." Peter got out his January issue anyway and says he still thinks editing beats "the hell out of selling shoes." So no more cards and letters this way -- send them to Peter.

LONDON

If we do, at least thanks to Channel Four, we will have overcome one of the major obstacles: we will already understand American football.

STONE

None of you are banned. None of you are storming the prison where her husband, Nelson Mandela, is being held.

But these moral contradictions only can be resolved by you, brothers and sisters.

What I will not permit is the erroneous vulgarity that Kennedy "has no mandate from black Americans."

Let me assure you — Kennedy does indeed have a mandate from black Americans. Your claim that he was using the visit to South Africa as "his ticket to the presidency" is so fatuously stupid that it vilifies reason and deprecates political fact.

Currently, a reactivated racism, midwifed by a conservative national

mood and nurtured by the 20th century's most racist president, is lynching American justice.

In his last four years in office, Ronald Reagan has systematically stripped black Americans of many of their 25 year-old political, educational and economic gains.

He has even strengthened South African apartheid by multiplying US trade and increasing South Africa's defense capability with US technology.

Given an emerging second post-Reconstruction period, any aspirant — Democrat or Republican — must pander to this new racism.

The great irony of Kennedy's visit to South Africa is the vitiation of his presidential chances.

That rhetorical garbage about your enemy including the "imperialists of the United States" may impress you. But that kind of masturbatory nationalism went out with the Boer laager.

"Physician, heal thyself," commanded Paul.

If Azanians really want to do something powerful that will alter the role of "the imperialists of the United States" in South Africa, let Azanians mobilize themselves to support Bishop Tutu's call for American disinvestment in South Africa. Any American's support for an Azanian democracy hinges on support for American disinvestment.

As our beloved hero, Malcolm X. Shabazz, declared when he addressed the Organization of African Unity in Cairo in 1964, "Our freedom struggle for human dignity is no longer confined to the domestic jurisdiction of the United States." We are intertwined for justice.

La luta continua whether in Afganistan, Central America, the Middle East, Northern Ireland or South Africa.

Philadelphia Daily News

CITY DESK

The National Council of Aging has an exhibit by eight older Washingtonians at its gallery, 600 Maryland SW, West Wing 100, through Feb. 28. ... From the Washington Post: "Today, the suburban vacuum has been filled with the amenities of the city. Glamorous new department stores, top-dollar restaurants, multicinema complexes and emporiums of the fine arts are capturing the suburban buck close to home. Beyond the city, expanding high technology and service industries provide the jobs that buck. The result: remarkably self-sufficient colonies in the suburbs." This development, which has been observable for a long time, has been generally ignored by DC city planners who continue to design the city for a world that no longer exists. It's about time the planners began planning for the people who live in DC.

<>

Peter Shragg, a Georgetown law professor who was a delegate to the Statehood Convention, has written a detailed account of the deliberations of that assembly. \$19.95 from the Georgetown University Press. ... Walter Washington was in fine form as he spoke to the UDC conference on DC,

easily outdistancing the half-dozen other local politicians in style and enthusiasm. It was, however, the old Walter Washington syntax as well. At one point he said, "We've got a good city. I want to permeate your minds into believing it." ... Irony of the month: On January 3 the Washington Post ran a photo of a smiling Marion Barry and Dave Clarke cutting a cake to celebrate ten years of home rule. Above the photo: a five column headline: "Barry Reverses Stand Against Building More Jail Space for City." Why the change of heart: pressure from Senator Specter and US Attorney diGenova.

Historical note from the incumbency: Five of the original home rule councilmembers are still there: Clarke, Wilson, Shackleton, Spaulding, Winter. But other things have changed. The first elected council had ten men and three women; the new council will have seven women and six men. ... The Washington Deposit Coalition has come up with a list of liquor stores that sell beer in returnable containers. Returnable bottles are available in most neighborhoods. For the

list of the two dozen stores that recycle, send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to Washington Deposit Coalition, PO Box 11164, DC 20008 ...

Mark your calendar now for one of this town's real delights: the totally wacky Gross National Parade is scheduled this year for April 21. ♦♦♦ Writing about the Georgetown-North Carolina A&T game, Washington Post writer Michael Wilson made this startling assertion, "It was one of the few times two predominantly black schools appeared on national television (ESPN) in college basketball's regular season." Wonder whether the Pope knows how far affirmative action has gone at GU.

♦♦♦ John Wilson's political support cuts across various political and democratic lines. According to Diana McCellan, he even got Mildred Ahlgren, past president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs to vote for him. And almost lost her as well. As Ahlgren prepared to cast her first vote ever for a Democrat, the voting booth collapsed on her. With a fractured pelvis, she made her way to the handicapped booth where she voted before being taken to the hospital.

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♦♦♦ Three gay activists in the Dupont Circle area lost their bids for election in last fall's ANC elections.

GREEN

positions (such as the executive committee), and those who represent the party in elected office. Most importantly, the Greens have a policy of what they call "imperative mandate," which is made up of various organizational and structural ways to keep the parliamentarians in line with the desires of the "basis" or "grassroots".

This fits in very well with the ecological pillar which emphasizes decentralization of society and a world view which criticizes hierarchical thinking, and advocates a world view based on the idea of a "partnership" between humanity and nature. And this in turn fits in with the concept of "social responsibility," which advocates democratic management of production and distribution, ecological reform of industry and support for an alternative economy outside the market system.

Spretnak and Capra also describe the astute political protest techniques, poignant but ignored political issues, and colorful creativity that the Greens have used in their roles as elected representatives. They demonstrate that though feminism as a whole is not as developed in the popular consciousness in West Germany as it is in the United States, the Greens have raised key women's issues by criticism both of their own sexual politics and those of the established parties. Recently the women in the Federal Parliament Green delegation (who regularly meet as a women's political action and support group) pulled a coup within the party by demanding that the present speakers for the delegation (and particularly the men in the delegation with reformist oriented politics) be replaced with five women. This they said would help stop imbalanced media attention of individual "stars" and "help build bridges" to a more support oriented approach in the delegation to Green politics.

Many of the members of Parliamentary delegation of greens have done civil disobedience, and some several times. The MP's also frequently join peace and protest demonstrations in other countries as well -- from the Soviet Union and East Germany to Italy, France and the United States.

While Spretnak and Capra's presentation is generally accurate, there are problems with the book. Its major sources of information are members of parliament and other "higher ups". As a result it tends to portray the Greens as a party of leaders in a manner that runs contrary to the idea of "basis" democracy. It deemphasizes the intricate relationship between the Greens as a party and the vast network of green movement and the "alternative" subsociety that supports them. It also gives a consistent and imbalanced critique of the people that came to the Greens from the "left" (mostly segments of the new left and ex-Maoists) while brushing over the problems with the sorts of people who came from the "right." And in general, Spretnak and Capra give a partisan reading of the Greens influence and politics from the perspective of the more "fundamentalist" Greens over and against the more pragmatic tendencies. Though indeed I am in greater sympathy with the "fundamentalist" or "green-Greens" because of their greater concern for decentralization and ecological communities as the goal of Green policy, I think that this misrepresents the influence and power of the various tendencies within the Greens.

The final section on the possibility of Green politics in the US suggests possible directions, to which each reader may have their own ideas and opinions. The book is followed by an excellent list of one hundred green oriented organizations, including the Institute for Social Ecology, in the United States, for interested readers to connect up with.

—John Ely

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